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His Grace JAMES late DUKE of ORMOND &c. &c.  
Died Nov.<sup>r</sup> 5.<sup>th</sup> 1745 Aged 83.

*Henry Bedingfeld*

THE

L I F E

OF

J A M E S,

L A T E

DUKE of O R M O N D E.

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. An Historical and Genealogical Account of His GRACE's Family.
  - II. An Impartial View of His Conduct in his Civil and Military Employments, with the History of His Time, and an Inquiry into the Principles and Measures of those Parties, which he either supported or opposed.
  - III. A Succinct Account of the most remarkable Events that happen'd to Him during upwards of Thirty Years Exile; from Authentic Materials.
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L O N D O N:

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DA  
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TO THE  
READER.

**I***T is impossible to form a true Judgment of great Men, but by having Recourse to the History of the Times in which they flourish'd; and among these we ought to be very careful to make Choice of such Authors as are the least prejudiced by the Spirit of Party, and are best supported in the Facts they advance by public Records. It is absolutely necessary, to discover the true Character of a great Statesman, or Captain, that we should examine in what Light he appear'd to his Sovereign, and what were the Sentiments of his Fellow Subjects in general, and in particular of such as were under his immediate Government, Command, or Direction, with Relation to his Conduct. As I esteem these the most infallible Guides to Truth, to prevent my Readers the Trouble of turning over a Num-*

ber of Books, I have inserted such public Accounts and Testimonies as bear any Relation to the great Man, whose Life I have endeavour'd to compile, with that Impartiality, which the Public expects from an Historian, but which is rarely found in a Biographer; as such seem more concern'd to represent their Heroe rather what he ought to have been, than what he really was. They draw fine Copies for Imitation, I admit; but I fear few, if any, have such a Command over their Passions, as to rise to a Perfection equal to his Historian's Character.

I acknowledge I have a great Veneration for the Memory of the late Duke of Ormonde, whom I have seen the Darling of the English; and 'twas nothing wonderful that he won the Hearts of a generous and brave People, since his Enemies (abstracted from political and sordid Views of Self-interest, he had none) are obliged to acknowledge him, as a Man, humane and benevolent, for I may say, with the Spaniards, \* No tenia boca para dezir de no; which tho' deem'd a Fault, it was such a one as was of Prejudice to himself alone. As a Nobleman, his Magnificence did Honour not only to the eminent Rank in which he was born, but to his Prince and Country, both at Home and Abroad. As a Captain, he gave Proofs of a Courage capable of animating his Followers, and in the greatest Dangers had a Presence of Mind to improve  
every

\* He cou'd refuse No-body.

## P R E F A C E.

every Advantage, which either the neglect, or oversight, or Want of military Experience of his Country's Enemies afforded him. 'Tis true his Grace had not so many Opportunities allowed him to serve his Prince and Country, as another great Man was happy in; but those he had, sufficiently evinced, that, whether in Point of personal Bravery, or of deliberate Prudence, he was upon a Level, to say no more, with the most celebrated Heroes. As a Subject, he paid a dutiful Obedience to the Commands of his Sovereign; and, if this was not his Crime, I defy even those, to whom a Nobleman of such disinterested Virtue was a Reproach, to lay any other at his Door. As an Englishman, he certainly had the Glory and Interest of the British Empire at Heart, as I think his Letters prove to Demonstration, when his Obedience to the Commands of his Sovereign, and the Hopes of seeing his Country, by an honourable Peace, deliver'd from a destructive War, she was no longer able to carry on, depriv'd him of the Glory of a Triumph; a Sacrifice! which ought to render his Memory dear to all who prefer the public Welfare to peculiar Interests. He was no Stranger to the Advantages he had of the Enemy, and might morally have reckon'd on a certain Victory: But then, on the other Hand, he well knew the ruinous Consequences of protracting a War, of which the greatest Burthen was thrown upon his Country, while it enrich'd our Allies: Not to mention that, to improve these Advantages which  
his



# vi      P R E F A C E.

*his own and the Enemy's Situation afforded him, be must have proceeded diametrically contrary to the express Injunction of his Royal Mistress.*

*Tho' I have admitted that I have a very high Regard for the Memory of the late generous, benevolent Duke of Ormonde, who seem'd born for the Good of others, yet I have barely related Matters of Fact as I have found them recorded, or had them related, by Men of Credit, and have no where given my own Sentiments upon them, or endeavour'd to byass my Reader; a Method I condemn in others. Besides, after a British Parliament has honour'd his Grace with their Approbation of, and a British Sovereign has shewn an entire Satisfaction in, his Conduct, it would have been the highest Presumption in me to imagine his Character could stand in need of other Vindication.*

Adieu.



T H E



T H E  
L I F E  
O F T H E  
Duke of ORMONDE.



WHEN it happens that they whose Lives have excited the Curiosity of the Public, are eminent for their Birth, as well as their personal Qualities, it is proper to embellish their History with some Account of their Descent; since in all Ages, and in almost every Nation, it has been considered as an Honour to be derived from those who have deserved well of Mankind, and because it seems to be one of the Prerogatives of superior Reputation to diffuse itself to all those who can boast of its Alliance, and that Family has a Right to preserve its whole Line from Oblivion, which has produced one Man worthy of a History.

There is likewise a more cogent and obvious Reason for deducing the Lineage of illustrious Men. Without some Knowledge of their Extraction, it is impossible to make a true Judgment of their Merits and Abilities, since it cannot be known how much of the Power which they have exerted, they received from their Ancestors, and how much they have acquired by their personal Excellence; how much they were influenced by the Conduct of their Progenitors, or how far they acted from Principles established by Reflection; what were their real Merits and what their accidental Advantages.

It is however by no Means necessary in deducing the Genealogy of the House of *Ormonde* to ascend into the Darknes of remote and forgotten Antiquity, in which the most sagacious and diligent Heads and Historians have found themselves inextricably entangled, and into which they have searched with no better Effect than to discern and confess their own Ignorance. It is sufficient for the Honour of the House of *Ormonde*, that its Original is too antient to be traced, and that its first Descents, even after it became considerable for its Possessions, Power, and Alliances, cannot be ascertained.

There are yet some Facts and Occurrences, even of considerable Antiquity, relating to this great Family, which being known and proved by indisputable Evidence, ought to be mentioned, as they will shew that this House had arrived



arrived at the Height of Grandeur, at a Time when great Part of the Families, which now flourish in Power and Affluence, had not yet risen from the common People.

*Theobald Walter*, having in the Year 1170, attended King *Henry* into *France*, when the Controversy relating to *Thomas Becket* was adjusted, followed him next Year into *Ireland* where *Roderick King of Connaught*, with many petty Princes, yielded up their Sovereignty. Here the Services of *Theobald* were so considerable, at least so well accepted, that *Henry* gave him such an Extent of Lands in his new Kingdom as determined him to reside there, tho' it is certain that his Estate in *England* was at that time very large. It is not unlikely indeed that personal Residence was the Condition on which those Lands were granted to him, for it was of the highest Importance, that in a Country newly yielded, and of which the Inhabitants having no certain Possessions or fixed Manner of Life, could support themselves more agreeably by Rapine than by Labour, and depending by their Form of Government upon the Heads of their *Septs*, or Families, were easily made the Instruments of Revenge and of Ambition, there should be always at Hand some Men of powerful Influence and unshaken Loyalty to repress the first Efforts of Insurrection, to compose Differences, before the Appeal was made to the Sword, and to redress real or imaginary Wrongs before Discontents were heighten'd

into Sedition. If therefore the King having experienced his Ability, Diligence and Honour, thought him the fittest to be placed in a Post of so much Difficulty, a higher Encomium could not easily be given him; nor was it improper to enrich him with very large Possessions, that he might be considered by the Inhabitants as formidable for his Power, and that holding so large a Part of his Fortune, by the Right of the new Conquest, he might have some Interest with his Master.

To these Lands the King, perhaps as a farther Inducement to Residence and Application, added, about six Years afterwards, as it seems most probable, the Office of chief Butler of *Ireland*, which, like the Estate, was made hereditary. To this Office was annexed soon after, a Grant of the Prisage of Wines; by which he and his Descendants were intituled to one Tun of Wine out of nine brought, by any Ship, into the Ports of *Ireland*. This Grant was, in succeeding Reigns, frequently renewed, as was the Custom of those Times in which Charters were often revoked, and Privileges over-ruled, and has been to the present Age enjoyed by the House of *Ormonde*.

What had been the antient Sirname of this Family is much disputed; but from this Time, or soon after, it is well-known that they took the Name of their Office, and were called *Boteler*, *Botiller*, *le Botiller*, or *Butler*, often bearing, the chief Offices in the Kingdom  
of

of Ireland, and distinguishing themselves by their Activity and Loyalty.

It is not certain that they had any other hereditary Honour, than that of this great Office, till the Reign of *Edward* the Second, though it is not likely that such Extent of Lands was without the Dignity of a Barony, but as they continued their Zeal for the King's Service, *Edward*, on Sept. 1, 1315, created *Edmond le Botiller*, (a) Earl of *Carrik*, as a

B 3 Recom-

“ (a) Rex Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Pri-  
 “ oribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomiti-  
 “ bus, Præpositis, Ministris, & omnibus Ballivis & fideli-  
 “ bus suis salutem. Sciatis nos pro bono & laudibili  
 “ servitio quod dilectus & fidelis noster *Edmundus le Bo-*  
 “ *tiller* de Hibernia nobis hæcenus impendit & impindet  
 “ in futurum dedisse concessisse & hac carta nostra con-  
 “ firmasse eidem *Edmundo* manerium de *Karryke*  
 “ *Mackgriffin* cum pertinent' & castrum & manerium  
 “ de *Roskre* cum pertinent' in Hibernia Habend' & te-  
 “ nend' eidem *Edmundo* & heredibus suis cum feodis  
 “ militum advocacionibus Ecclesiarum, & omnibus aliis  
 “ ad prædicta castrum & maneria pertinentibus videli-  
 “ cit, prædictum manerium de *Karryke* cum pertinentiis  
 “ sub nomine & honore Comitum de *Karrike* de nobis &  
 “ hered' nostris per servitium duorum feodorum, mili-  
 “ tum in perpetuum. Quare volumus & firmiter præ-  
 “ cipimus pro nobis & hered' nostris quod prædictus  
 “ *Edmundus* habeat & teneat prædicta castrum & ma-  
 “ neria cum pertinen' sibi & heredibus suis cum feodis.  
 “ Militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum, & omnibus aliis  
 “ ad prædicta castrum, & maneria pertinentibus, videli-  
 “ cet, prædictum manerium de *Karryke* cum pertinen'  
 “ sub nomine & honore Comitum de *Karryke*, de nobis &  
 “ hered' nostris per servitium duorum feodorum mili-  
 “ tum in perpetuum, sicut prædict' est. His testibus  
 “ venerabilibus patribus W. Archiepiscopo Cantuar. to-  
 “ tius Angliæ Primate, & J. Norwicen' Episcopo, Tho-



Recompence which his Services, in the preceding Year, might be supposed to have deserved; for, being Guardian and Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, he vigorously opposed an Invasion from *Scotland*: And though the Animosities between the great *Irish* Families, the frequent Consequence of the patriarchal Government, hindered him from destroying the Enemy, his own Army being in perpetual Disorder and Confusion, and, at last, being no longer to be kept united, yet he found Means of harrassing those whom he could not conquer, and for many Years contributed to preserve *Ireland* to the *English*, till at last the Commotions were entirely repressed.

He was succeeded by his Son *James le Bottiller*, who marrying the Cousin-Germain of *Edward III.* was, in 1322, made Earl of *Ormond*, and, in 1328, obtained all the Rights of a *Palatine*, in the County of *Tipperary*, a Privilege which in the Fluctuation of these variable Times was soon afterwards taken away, and in the same Reign again conferred upon him. Such was the Condition of the greatest and

“ ma Comite Lancastr’, Johanne de Britannia Comite  
 “ Richmund, Humfrido de Bohun Comite Hereford &  
 “ Essex, Roberto filio Walteri, Johanne de Crumwell  
 “ Senescallo hospitii nostri & aliis. Dat’ per manum  
 “ nostram apud Lincoln primo die Septembris per ip-  
 “ sum Regum. Et mandatum est *Ricardo de Beresford*  
 “ Cancellar’ Regis Hibern’ quod eidem Edmundo Sei-  
 “ fina de Castr’ & maneriis prædict’ per literas sub sigillo  
 “ Regis Hiberniæ fact’ tenend’ juxta tenorem cartæ  
 “ prædict’ ut supra.

and the highest Subjects in those Ages, when the King governed by his own Will, or by the Will, as it often happened, of his Ministers; nothing was certain; for the Grants which were made in a Profusion of Kindness were, upon the first Change of Inclination, or Alteration of Measures, suddenly annulled, and those who trampled upon the common People, and who were gazed at as Sovereigns in their own District, were themselves in a State of anxious Uncertainty, nor could warrant to themselves their own Possessions for a Day.

This Charter being one of the highest Proofs of royal Favour, the Privileges conferred by it having been for many Centuries enjoyed by the Family, and being necessary to be mentioned in the Life of the late Duke, it is not improper to insert it, (*b*) since it may likewise be useful as a Specimen of the Charters of the Age in which it was made.

This Grant by which, in the Excess of  
B 4 royal

“ (*b*) Edwardus Rex, &c. omnibus ad quos, &c.  
“ salutem. Sciatis quod pro bono servitio quod—*Jacobus*  
“ *le Botiller* de Hibernia, quem in Comitem de Ormounde  
“ in Hibernia præfecimus—Edwardo nuper Regi Angliæ patri nostro & nobis impendit—& ut ipse statum  
“ & honorum Comitis decentius valiat continere, dedimus  
“ & concessimus eidem Comiti ad totam vitam suam Regalitatem & alias libertates, cum feodis militum & omnibus aliis rebus quæcunque fuerunt quæ habuimus  
“ in comitatu de Typerary in Hibernia (quatuor placitis, videlicet *incendio, raptu, forestall* & *Thejauro invento*, ac  
“ etiam proficuo de *Croceis* in dicto Comitatu cum omnibus

royal Benignity, such Exuberance of Honour and Power are restored, was originally intended only as a personal Favour to the first Earl of *Ormond*, but was afterwards enlarged by the same King, who made the Palatinate of *Tipperary* an hereditary Possession.

*James*, the first Earl of *Ormond*, was succeeded by his Son, who, on Account of his royal Extraction, was called the noble Earl, and whose Modesty procured him, in that Country, where accidental Appellations were then much in use, the more valuable Distinction of *James the Chaste*. He obtained, like his Ancestors, many Testimonies of the Favour of his Prince, in Grants which were again resumed, but which were generally exchanged for others. In 1359, he was made Lord Justice of *Ireland*, with a Salary of five hundred Pounds a Year, the Allowance given at that Time to the chief Governor of a Kingdom. Soon after he performed considerable Services under *Lyonel* the King's Son, on whom the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* was conferred, he was afterwards made again Lord Justice, and was continued for several Years in that Office; being thought the most proper Person to keep the Kingdom in Safety against the Attempts both of the *French* and *Scots*,

*James*

“ nibus ad ea Spectantibus, quæ erga nos & heredes  
 “ nostros volumus remanere, duntaxat exceptis)—In cu-  
 “ jus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus  
 “ patentes. Teste me ipso apud Walyngford nono die  
 “ Novembris anno regni nostro secundo—



*James* the Third was, by *Richard II.* in 1392, made Lord Justice of *Ireland*, and kept the Rebels in awe, tho' not in absolute Subjection till the King himself arrived with a powerful Army, and obtained the Recognition and Professions of Obedience of all the *Irish* Chiefs, which were regarded no longer than the Force, by which they were exacted, remained among them; for upon the King's Departure they rose again in Arms, and the Earl of *Ormonde's* Activity and Courage were again required to suppress them, which he undertook with so much Success, that he reduced the powerful Clan of the *Byrnes* to become his Feudatories or Liegemen.

He died in the Office of Lord Justice, and left his Estate, with the Addition of the Castle of *Gowran*, which he built, and of *Kilkenny*, and the Manors adjacent, which he purchased, to his Son *James* the fourth, who in that Age, when the Nobility was generally, to the last Degree, ignorant, was very eminent for his Learning, which procured him such Regard, that, before he arrived at Age to take Possession of his Estate, he was, in the Absence of the Lord Lieutenant left Lord Deputy of the Kingdom, and in that Post presided in the Parliament.

Some Years afterwards he was, by *Henry V.* constituted Lord Lieutenant, defeated the rebellious *Irish* in several remarkable Skirmishes, and was so much regarded by the Crown, that he was not only made  
Lord

Lord Lieutenant a second and third Time, by *Henry VI.* but obtained a very uncommon Instance of Esteem and Favour, on an Occasion which is too remarkable not to be mentioned even in this contracted Account of his Family. There was a continued and furious Enmity between the Families of *Ormonde* and *Shrewsbury*, and *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, being made in 1446, Lord Lieutenant, in Consequence of this inveterate Feud, accused *James* of Treason, but the King knowing the Conduct of the Earl of *Ormonde*, and having Reason to suspect, that private and personal Animosity was the sole Motive of the Charge, ordered the Accusation to be dismissed without a Trial: But *John Talbot*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, being, by his Brother, left Deputy in his Absence, endeavoured to revive it, and procured the Prior of *Kilmainham* to present it again at Court. The Earl of *Ormonde* followed his Prosecutor, and carried with him, in order to his Justification, Testimonials of his Conduct from many of the temporal Peers, and notwithstanding the great ecclesiastical Authority of his Enemy, from some of the Bishops, and according to the Justice of those Military Times, a Combat, in *Smithfield*, was appointed between him and his Accuser; but the King have once more considered the Testimonies on both Sides, found *Ormonde's* Innocence too apparent to be exposed to a Combat; and, therefore, ordered a Writ, signed by the Archbishop, to be proclaimed over the whole

whole Kingdom, in which it was declared, that the Earl of *Ormonde* had served his King with great Fidelity; that his Accusers were Men of no Credit, whose Testimony ought not to be in any Case received, and that none should, on Pain of the royal Indignation, asperse his Character, or revive the Accusation. The Earl after this lived some Time without farther Disturbance, and was succeeded by his Son.

*James* the fifth was a very martial and active Man, and distinguished himself so-much, that he was made Earl of *Wiltshire*, but marrying a Sister of the Duke of *Somerſet*, he engaged on the Side of the House of *Lancaster*, and commanded one Wing at the Battle of *Wakefield*, and was afterwards taken Prisoner at *Towton*, and beheaded at *Newcastle*.

He left behind him no legitimate Issue, and therefore, his Brother, Sir *John de Ormonde*, was the next Heir; He was likewise in the Fight of *Towton*, and was included in the Act by which the Rebels were attainted, but was by *Edward IV.* restored both to Blood and to his Estate, and so much favoured by him, that he was sent Ambassador to many Courts; but, at length, making a Journey of Devotion to *Jerusalem*, he died in the Holy Land.

*Thomas*, his Brother, had the next lineal Right, but he, likewise, had been involved in the Attainder, under the Appellation of *Thomas Ormonde* alias *Botiller*, Knight, and having, at that Time, never been knighted, he



he pleaded, that the Attainder had been unjustly executed against him; and, that the Sentence against *Thomas Ormonde*, Knt. could not affect the Possessions of *Thomas Ormonde*, Esq. This Plea was admitted by the Judges, and having thus secured his own Fortune, he afterwards petitioned *Henry VII.* that the Attainder of his Brother might be reversed by Act of Parliament, and that he might enter upon their Honours and Estates, and having obtained his Request, took Possession of all his Brother's Estates in *England*. He found in the House in *Blackfriars*, in *London*, more than forty thousand Pounds in Money, besides other valuable Things, and carried all his Treasure with him into *Ireland*, tho' he passed most of his Time in *England*, where he sat in Parliament as Baron of *Rochford*.

This Earl, having no Male Issue, suppressed, as it is said, the Deeds by which the Earls of *Ormonde*, his Predecessors, had entailed their Lands upon their Heirs Male, and divided his *English* Estate between his two Daughters, to each of which he left thirty-six Manors. One of them was married to Sir *John Saintleger*, and the other to Sir *William Bullen*, whose Son was Sir *Thomas Bullen*, the Father of *Anna Bullen*, and Grandfather of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The *Irish* Estate being entailed on the Heirs Male, and the Title of *Ormond*, descending to the Heirs general, fell to *Piers Boteler*, a Descendant from Sir *Richard Bottiller*,

tiller, second Son of *James* the fourth Earl of *Ormond*, who had not enjoyed his Lands without Molestation from the Daughters of Earl *Thomas*, had not the King first obtained Possession of them by a Forfeiture, and then secured him in the Possession by a new Grant; so that any Suit must have been commenced, not against the Earl's original Title but against that of the King, by which they were granted, an Attack, which in those unhappy Times, the most powerful Subject durst not hazard. Thus the Favour of the King might be sometimes sufficient to afford a Protection against the Law, but how much more happy are these Times, in which the Security of the Law can give Protection against the Tyranny of the King.

What the King can grant by unlimited Authority, he can, by the same Authority, take away, and therefore Sir *Thomas Bullen*, being desirous of the Title of *Ormond*, to which he probably imagined that he inherited a just Claim by his Mother, prevailed upon the King to propose to the Earl of *Ormond* the Resignation of his Title. To propose and to command, to command and to compel, were Words of nearly the same Import with *Henry VIII.* and, therefore Sir *Piers Botiller* coming to Court, resigned his Title with great Readiness at the King's Desire, being made Earl of *Ossey*, that his Honour might suffer no Diminution, and the Title of *Ormonde* was conferred upon Sir *Thomas Bullen*, who lived not  
long

long after his new Acquisition, and upon his Death, the Title, which he had been so solicitous to obtain, was restored, by the King, to *Piers Butler*, to whom it belonged, and from whom therefore he would not detain it, tho' he had procured it for his Favourite. *Piers* sold his short Suspension of his hereditary Title upon very advantageous Terms, having obtained a Confirmation of his Claim to his ancient Estate, with the Addition of several other Manours and Houses.

The Act of Parliament by which the *Bo-tillers* were restored to the Title of *Ormond*, seems to suppose some Doubt of his original Right, and that Doubt was probably one Cause for which Sir *Thomas Bullen*, thought it reasonable to make so unusual a Request. For the same Cause, the *Butlers*, when restored, might desire the Solemnity of a Parliamentary Declaration of his Right, that it might neither in him, nor in his Posterity, be afterwards called in Question. This Act, therefore, as Part of the peculiar Honours of this House, may be with Propriety inserted in their History.

“ Statut' ordinat' & act' in quodam Par-  
 “ liamento apud Dublin, 6 Nov. 35. H. VIII.  
 “ coram dilecto & fideli suo Anthonio Sen-  
 “ teliger milit' un' generosorum privatæ ca-  
 “ meræ dicti Domini Regis deputat' ejusdem  
 “ Domini Regis regni sui Hiberniæ tent'  
 “ edit' & continet' in hac verba, videlicet,  
 “ Where sethins the 9th Year of the Reign  
 “ of



“ of the noble Prince, of famous Memory,  
 “ King *Edward* III. unto the 6th Year of  
 “ the Reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord  
 “ King *Henry* VIII. *James, James, James,*  
 “ *James, James, John* and *Thomas Butler,*  
 “ Erles of *Ormond*, have had and enjoyed the  
 “ one afre the other the Name, Honour, De-  
 “ gree, Stile, Title and Dignity of Erle of  
 “ *Ormond*, within this Realm, with a yearly  
 “ Annuitie of ten Pounds *Irish*, in, of, and  
 “ upon the Fee-Ferms of the Citie of *Water-*  
 “ *forde*, within the same Realme, for the bet-  
 “ ter Maintenance of the said Name of Erle  
 “ of *Ormond*, and from the Deth of the said  
 “ *Thomas*, which died the said 6th Yere of  
 “ the Regne of our said Sovereign Lord, K.  
 “ H. VIII. unto the 19th Yere of his Grace’s  
 “ Regne, for that the said *Thomas*, late Erle  
 “ of *Ormond* died without Yssue Male of his  
 “ Body, *Peter Butler*, Knight, as Cousin and  
 “ next Heire male to the said *Thomas*, that is  
 “ to say, Son to *James*, Son to *Edmond*, Son  
 “ to *Richard*, Brother to *James*, Father to  
 “ the said *Thomas*, late Erle of *Ormond*, as well  
 “ by our said Sovereign Lord the King, that  
 “ now is, his Grace’s sondrie Letters Patents,  
 “ and many his Letters Missives, and other-  
 “ wise, and also by all others hath ben  
 “ named, reputed, accepted and taken Erle of  
 “ *Ormond*, and had an Yerelie Perceiveal  
 “ during the said Time, the said Annuitie of  
 “ ten Pounds *Irish* of the Fee-Ferme of the  
 “ Citie of *Waterford* aforesaid. As other the  
 “ Erles

“ Erles aforenamed of *Ormond* had for the  
 “ better Maintenance of their said Name of  
 “ Honour. And after again, our said most  
 “ draide Sovereign Lord, by his Letters Pa-  
 “ tents, the 29th Yere of his Reigne, made  
 “ to the said *Peter*, did name the said *Peter*  
 “ Erle of *Ormond*, sithins which Tyme the  
 “ said *Peter*, till his Deth, and *James* his  
 “ Son and Heire after unto this present, hath,  
 “ by our said Sovereign Lord, and all others,  
 “ bene named, called, accepted and taken  
 “ Erle of *Ormond* afore said; in Consideration  
 “ whereof and of, and for the right faithful  
 “ and laudable Service which the said *Peter*  
 “ and *James* his Son and Heire ever have done  
 “ the King our said Sovereign Lord’s Ma-  
 “ jestie, his Highness of his most Bounteous-  
 “ ness and Goodness extended to the said  
 “ *James*, Son to the said *Peter*, to the Entent  
 “ that all Doubts, Ambiguities, Arguments,  
 “ Reasons and Questions of Title, that here-  
 “ after might chance to soulder, rise or be  
 “ made concerning the same Name of Ho-  
 “ nour of Erle of *Ormond*, and the Annuities  
 “ afore said of ten Pounds *Irishe* perceived, as  
 “ is afore said, by the forenamed Erles of *Or-*  
 “ *mond*, for the better Maintenance of the said  
 “ Name of Honour of Earl of *Ormond*, is  
 “ contented and pleased, that it be enacted  
 “ and established by this present Parliament,  
 “ that the said *James* and the Heires Males of  
 “ the Body of the said *Peter* his said Father,  
 “ have, hold, inherite and enjoy the said  
 “ Name,

“ Name, Honour, Degree, Stile, Title and  
 “ Dignitie of Erle of *Ormond*, and the said  
 “ Yerelie Annuitie of ten Pounds *Irishe*, to  
 “ be perceaved of the said Fee-Ferme of the  
 “ said Citie of *Waterford*, for the better  
 “ Maintenance of the said Name and Honour  
 “ of Erle of *Ormond*, in as ample Manner  
 “ and Forme, and with like Preeminence and  
 “ Auncientie as any the abovenamed Erles of  
 “ *Ormond*, at any time, hath, had, used, or  
 “ enjoyed. Wherefore, be it enacted, ordain-  
 “ ed and established, by this present Parlia-  
 “ ment, and by the Authority of the same,  
 “ that the said *James*, Son to the said *Peter*,  
 “ as is aforesaid named Erle of *Ormond*, and  
 “ the Heires Males of the Body of the said  
 “ *Peter*, have, hold, inherit and enjoy the  
 “ said Name, Honour, Degree, Stile, Title  
 “ and Dignitie of Erle of *Ormonde*, and the  
 “ yearelie Annuitie of ten Pounds *Irish*, yeare-  
 “ ly to be perceyved of the said Fee-Ferme of  
 “ the said Citie of *Waterford*, by the Hands  
 “ of the Mayor and Baillyves of the same,  
 “ for the Time being, at the Feast of *Ester*,  
 “ and St. *Michael* th’arcangell, by even Por-  
 “ tions, in as ample Manner and Forme, and  
 “ with like preemynens and auncientie as any  
 “ the above-named Erles of *Ormonde*, at any  
 “ Tyme, had used or enjoyed.”

During the Suspension of the Title of *Or-*  
*monde*, which was transferred to *Bullen*, in 1527,  
 and ten Years afterward, restored to its for-

mer Possessor, *Piers*, then called Earl of *Ossory*, had many Occasions of displaying his Loyalty and signalizing his Courage. Being, upon the surrendering of his Title, made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, he was disturbed by the Intrigues and Insurrections of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose House had been long engaged in an hereditary Opposition to that of *Ormonde*. *Kildare* not only harassed him during his Government, but afterwards finding Means to be made Lord Deputy, in the Absence of the Duke of *Richmond*, then Lieutenant, he raised, by his new Authority, an Army, which he employed in the Invasion of *Kilkenny*, and the Destruction of the Earl of *Ossory's* Estates. It is scarce possible, for those who live in the present State of regular and legal Subordination, to conceive a Government so wildly administered, as that the chief Delegate of a Kingdom should dare to employ his Power in open and avowed Depredations on the Country which he is entrusted to govern, and make publick Profession of executing personal Revenge with the Forces which his Commission puts into his Hands; nor can the Miseries of that Country be easily represented to the Imagination, in which every Man who either suffers Injury or attempts it, who has Claims which his own Passions persuade him to think just, or who is incited either by Vengeance or Ambition, thinks himself at Liberty to have recourse to the Sword, to call round him Men as furious, as necessitous, and as aspiring as himself.



himself, and rush with all the Ravages of public Hostility, and all the Cruelty of private Resentment, upon the Possessions, Allies and Dependants of him, whom he has singled out for an Enemy, and whose Crime is, perhaps, little more, than that he is Master of something, which is worth the Labour and Hazard of taking it away. This, however, was for many Ages the State of *Ireland*, and by these Methods did the Heads of their *Septs* endeavour to support their Dignity, enlarge their Estates and aggrandize their Families.

*Kildare*, in order to distress the Earl of *Ossory*, who was favoured by the *English*, extended his Oppressions to all who were not of *Irish* Extraction, and raised such an universal Hatred of his Government among the *English*, that Complaints were made of his Procedure to *Henry* the Eighth, who sent for him to Court to justify himself against Accusations which he knew to be just, and which he did not therefore care to confront; but, at length, when he had, out of the King's Magazine, supplied his own Castles with Ammunition, and put Arms into the Hands of the *Irish*, he ventured into *England*, leaving his own Son, *Thomas Fitzgerald*, little more than twenty Years old, Governor in his Place. Such was the State of this Kingdom, at that Time, that one Governor seems to have deputed another without any End of successive Delegation, and the Country was always subject to fall into the Power of Men wholly unqualified for Government,

vernment, and who might reasonably be suspected to solicit so great a Trust only to betray it.

*Kildare*, being now in *England*, a Report was spread that he was beheaded, which was perhaps a Consequence of his Actions generally known to be likely, and, so was readily believed; and his Son, either believing it with the Rest, or, as it is more probable, taking Advantage of the prevailing Clamour to prosecute the Purposes of his own Ambition, immediately, under Pretence of the first Transports of Affection and Resentment, declared himself absolved from all Allegiance to the King, and, raising, an Army laid Siege to the Castle of *Dublin*; from whence the Archbishop endeavouring to escape by Water, was driven ashore and murdered. The Earl of *Ossory*, and his Son, the Lord *James Butler*, assembled their Forces to oppose him, and were excited to greater Expedition, because he continued to make the Feud between the two Families the chief Motive of his Conduct, and leaving a Detachment to carry on the Siege of the Fortrefs, marched in Person to invade the Lands of the Earl of *Ossory*; but when he approached nearer, either considering that the Disturbance of a private Enemy was but of little Importance compared with Designs which he had then begun to think himself able to execute, or uncertain of the Success of his Invasion, or desirous to strengthen himself by so powerful an Alliance, he wrote  
a Letter

a Letter to Lord *James Butler*, in which he proposed to him to unite their Strength, to reduce the Kingdom, and to share it between them, but received from the young Lord the following Answer :

“ Taking Pen in Hand to write to you my  
 “ absolute Answer, I muse in the first Line  
 “ by what Name to call you, my Lord, or  
 “ my Cousin, seeing your notorious Treason  
 “ hath impeached your Loyalty and Honour,  
 “ and your desperate Lewdness hath shamed  
 “ your Kindred. You are, by your Expressions  
 “ so liberal in parting Stakes with me,  
 “ that a Man would weene you had no Right  
 “ to the Game; and so importunate for my  
 “ Company, as if you would persuade me to  
 “ hang with you for good Fellowship. And  
 “ think you, that *James* is so mad as to gape  
 “ for Gudgeons, or so ungracious as to sell his  
 “ Truth and Loyalty for a Piece of *Ireland*?  
 “ Were it so (as it cannot be) that the Chickens  
 “ you reckon were both hatched and  
 “ feathered; yet be thou sure, I had rather  
 “ in this Quarrel dye thine Enemy, than live  
 “ thy Partner. For the Kindness you proffer  
 “ me, and Good-will in the End of your  
 “ Letter, the best Way I can propose to requite  
 “ you, that is, in advising you, though  
 “ you have fetched your Fence, yet to look  
 “ well before ever you leap over. Ignorance,  
 “ Error, and a Mistake of Duty, hath carried  
 “ you unawares, to this Folly, not yet so  
 “ rank,

“ rank, but it may be cured. The King is  
 “ a Vessel of Mercy and Bounty; your Words  
 “ against his Majesty shall not be counted ma-  
 “ licious, but only bulked out of Heat and  
 “ Impotency; except your self by heaping of  
 “ Offences discover a mischievous and wilful  
 “ Meaning. Farewell!”

Finding that he had now no Reason to hope  
 for the Alliance which he had courted, he  
 marched forward, and surpris'd Lord *James*,  
 at *Teripent*, attended with a small Party of  
 Horse, who, after some Resistance, were ob-  
 liged, by *Fitzgerald's* superior Numbers, to  
 fly, and Lord *James*, having received several  
 Wounds, was confined to his House at *Dun-*  
*more* till they were cured. The Earl of *Ossô-*  
*ry* rais'd a powerful Force, and compelled  
*Fitzgerald* to return to *Dublin*, where the Ci-  
 tizens had fallen upon the Party which he had  
 left to besiege the Castle. From *Dublin* he was  
 driven, by Sir *William Skeffington*, who was  
 sent over as Lord Deputy from *England*, with  
 a considerable Power, and, at last, he was obli-  
 ged to submit to the Lord *Grey*, the Deputy  
 that succeeded *Skeffington*, who sent him with  
 five of his Uncles to *London*, where, in the  
 Year 1537, they were executed at *Tyburn*;  
 the old Earl of *Kildare* having died some time  
 before, in the Tower, of Grief for the Perverse-  
 ness of his Son. The Lord *James Butler* and  
 his Father then found Means to extinguish  
 the Remains of the Rebellion, and were re-  
 warded



warded, for their Services, with Part of the forfeited Lands of those whom they had assisted to conquer.

But they found Enemies, not only among those who rebelled against the King, but among those likewise who governed by his Authority, for the Lord Deputy *Grey*, being related to some of the ancient Enemies of the House of *Ormonde*, made no more Scruple than *Kildare*, to employ the King's Troops against his Subjects, but sent Part of the Army to waste the Estate of the Earl of *Ossory*, which was afterwards objected to him amongst other Crimes for which he was beheaded.

In 1538, the *Butlers* retrieved the Title of *Ormonde*, and *Piers* died the Year following with the highest Reputation, for his Courage, his Liberality, his Charity, his Honour, and his Devotion. He used, in the last Fortnight in *Lent*, to withdraw himself from all secular Employments, and to spend his Time wholly in Prayer, Contemplation, and the Exercise of Charity. It is a very remarkable Incident of his Life, that though his Lady was Sister to his Enemy the Earl of *Kildare*, their conjugal Union was never broken by the Interchange of Enmity between the two Families to which no Stop was put by the Alliance, and they lived together with great Concord and Happiness.

*James the sixth*, Earl of *Ormonde*, to which was now united the Title of *Ossory*, had been employed, in his Father's Life, in high Posts,

and joined in an Association, at that Time very strange, *to oppose the Usurpations of the Bishop of Rome*, whose Pretensions had never in that Kingdom been questioned before. He continued to enjoy the Favour of the King, and received many Grants of the Lands of the Church, which were then resigned to the Crown. He had for many Years the Direction of the Treasury of *Ireland*, which at last hastened his Death; for having a Dispute with the Deputy about raising a new Tax, the Animosity rose so high, that the King required them both to come over to *England* to be reconciled; but the Reconciliation was of very little Importance, for the Earl of *Ormonde* at an Entertainment at *Ely House* was poisoned, with the Steward of his Household, and sixteen more of his Servants, who all died of the same Banquet.

He married the only Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Desmond*, by whom with many other Children he had *Thomas the Second* who succeeded him, and distinguished himself very early by his Bravery both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. He obtained from *Queen Mary* a considerable Grant of Lands, which it might have been expected that her Popish Zeal would rather have inclined her to restore to the Church, from which they had not long before been taken. This Grant was confirmed, with the Addition of several new Manours, by *Queen Elizabeth*, who placed particular Confidence in this Earl, and who found him in many dangerous

dangerous and pressing Exigencies active, valiant, prudent, and loyal.

But the Kindness of his Sovereign could not secure him from those Disquiets, that private Animosities of Families so frequently brought in those Days upon the Nobles of *Ireland*; the Earl of *Desmond*, in Consequence of an ancient Quarrel, made War upon his Estate, and great Part of the Province of *Munster* was laid waste by the Continuance of their Hostilities; but *Desmond* was routed at *Atbmean*, in the County of *Waterford*, and two hundred and eighty of his Men killed on the Field: This Encounter however did not end the Dispute, which threaten'd new Calamities to the Country; and therefore the Queen required both the Chiefs to attend her: The Summons was obey'd by the Earl of *Ormonde*, who had the Mortification to hear, that while he was waiting at Court, Part of his Estate was laid waste, and one of his Brothers killed by the Followers of his Antagonist. The Queen however reconciled them for the present, yet the Earl of *Desmond* soon made new Levies in Prosecution of his former Design, but was obliged to submit to the Deputy, and was with his Son imprisoned in *England*.

But the Suspension of Toil and Tumults procured by the Repression of *Desmond* was of very short Continuance; for soon after, a Rebellion almost general broke out in *Ireland*, inflamed in some by Ambition, in some by Injuries and Disappointments, and in others by  
Zeal

Zeal for the *Romish* Religion, which the Priests began then to think endanger'd. In this Rebellion two of *Ormonde's* Brothers were engaged, but they were afterwards perswaded by him to submit, and obtained Pardon.

These Rebels were principally abetted by the Earl of *Desmond*, who having for a long Time, after his Enlargement, in secret favoured the Rebellion, at last openly cast off all Obedience to the Queen, and appeared in Arms against her Authority. The Earl of *Ormonde* marched against him, and drove him from one Shelter to another, seizing his Castles, and destroying his Forces, till he obliged him to hide himself in the Woods and Mountains.

In these Retreats and Fastnesses *Desmond* continued till he received Assistance from foreign Countries; but even this Assistance was intercepted by the Activity of *Ormonde*, and the Rebellion had been then wholly suppressed, had not other Lords assisted him with their Power. They were likewise in a short Time reduced to such Difficulties, that the Baron of *Lixnaw* submitted to his old Enemy the Earl of *Ormonde*, who had Authority to receive the Submission of the Rebels, and by his Intercession obtained a Pardon.

*Ormonde* then went into *England*, and obtained from the Queen a small Supply of Stores, with which he landed at *Waterford* in 158 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and resolved to hunt the Earl of *Desmond* till he had taken him, and freed the Kingdom from the Danger of new Commotions. *Desmond*



*mond* was driven from Wood to Wood, and from Mountain to Mountain, in great Want of Provisions, his Followers being cut off from all Communication with their Estates; and therefore obliged to eat Carrion, and haras'd at the same time by continual Attacks, both from the Forces of *Ormonde*, and of those, who having submitted to him, endeavoured to recommend themselves by destroying those to whom they had lately been Confederates; and by these concurrent Miseries and Hostilities, *Desmond*, in less than a Year, lost forty Captains and four thousand common Men; and not being able to find any Method of maintaining his Horse, was in a short Time so generally abandoned, that he sculked about with only five Attendants, in the utmost Want, and in perpetual Danger. *Ormonde* in the mean time marched round the Country, and received the Submission of such Lords and Chieftains of Families, as had been engaged in the Rebellion.

*Ormonde* had at Court very powerful Enemies, among whom was the famous Earl of *Leicester*; and as Rivals at Court are always eager to misrepresent the Conduct of each other, it was so industriously insinuated to the Queen, that the Protections which he had granted to the *Irish* Rebels were contrary to her Advantage, that at last he received a Command in Writing from her, by which he was ordered to seize all those, whom he had protected, and to keep them in Durance. *Ormonde* highly

highly offended at such an Order remarked that Nothing could be of worse Consequence, than to drive Enemies so powerful to Desperation, that the Method he had taken was authorized by Letters from the Secretary, and justified by the Example of former Times; and at last concluded, that it would be dishonourable to violate the Protection which he had given; and that they who gave such Advice, were better qualified than himself to put it in Practice.

He continued to pursue *Desmond*, who, after having very narrowly escaped many Attempts, was at last discovered by an *Irish* Gentleman, who with twenty-five of his Followers attacked him in his Cabin, near the River *Maine*, in the Night, and killed him: The other Rebels submitted at the News of his Death, and two Ships which arrived very soon after with Men and large Sums of Money, for his Assistance, sailed back without landing their Cargo. *Ormonde* obtained Part of the Estate of *Desmond*, which he claim'd in Right of his Mother, and received a Letter of Thanks from the Queen; but was soon after, by the Influence of *Leicester* and his other Enemies, dismissed from the Government.

It was not long before there were new Occasions for his Diligence and Fidelity, for about four Years afterwards broke out the memorable Rebellion of the Earl of *Tirone*, who having long taken proper Measures for an Insurrection, with the utmost Circumspection, and with such

such Professions of Loyalty, whenever he was accused, as seldom fail'd of gaining him new Credit, for some Years contented himself with favouring the different Captains of Families that broke out into Rebellion, without committing any Acts of Hostility himself; but at last began to avow his Designs by an Attempt upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, in which tho' he miscarried, he yet grew by Degrees more and more powerful, and began to threaten great Mischiefs to the Kingdom. In order therefore to oppose him, the Earl of *Ormonde* received in 1597, a Commission to be General of *Lemster*, but was obliged to raise and furnish the Army at his own Expence; and being afterwards invested with the Command of the Army at *Dundalk*, he found them without Cloaths, and without Victuals, and so much reduced, that he could scarcely select out of eighteen Companies six hundred Men fit to bear Arms, and with that small Body ranged for a better Appearance under ten Ensigns, he met *Tyrone*. They had an Interview, in which they agreed upon a short Truce, which *Ormonde* made use of to procure Provisions and Ammunition for his Army, there being but three Barrels of Powder in the Queen's Magazines, and to take Security from the Chiefs for their Fidelity, and when Hostilities commenced again, he made the chief Opposition by his personal Influence, raised the Siege of *Kilmallock*, and furnish'd many Towns and Castles with Means of Defence.

But

But the Queen's Forces in *Ireland* not being thought sufficient to crush the Rebellion, the Earl of *Essex* was sent over, with a very powerful Army; but he, soon tired of the Manner in which that War was to be made, and the troublesome Necessity of pursuing a flying Enemy through Bogs, and over Mountains, made a Truce with *Tyrone*, and unhappily for himself returned without performing those Actions which were expected from his Courage, or settling any lasting Peace in the Country which was committed to his Care; for *Tyrone*, soon after his Departure, began new Ravages and was very feebly opposed by those who had the Government in their Hands: Another Truce however was made, in which, probably, both Parties expected to find Advantage, and *Ormonde* represented to the Queen the Distress of the Kingdom, and desired a new Governor with more Forces.

Lord *Montjoy* was then sent over with a considerable Body of Troops, and the Earl of *Ormonde*, supported by this new Assistance, continued to harass the Enemy, who nevertheless was neither discouraged, nor as it appears, much impaired; for the Heads of the *Irish* Clans, who secretly favoured them, gave them Succours, and many united themselves openly to them; among these was *Owney Mac Rory O More*, whom *Ormond* hoped to reclaim by an Interview; and therefore perswaded some of his Friends to accompany him; but when they met, he was seized and detained Prisoner,  
and



and his Friends with great Difficulty made their Escape.

This Treachery was discovered by *Tyrone*, who declared, that he would leave no Measures untried, if it were found that he was perfidiously seized, to set him at Liberty; and *Owney* was, after many Shifts, obliged by the *Irish* themselves to release him.

He continued after his Release to pursue the Rebels with his usual Vigilance, and though *Tyrone* received Assistance from *Spain*, yet he was very soon reduced to such Extremities, that nothing was left for him, but to submit to the Queen's Mercy.

The Policy by which the Rebellion of *Tyrone* was suppressed deserves to be recorded. The Supplies which *Tyrone* obtained for his Forces, were chiefly purchased with the Money sent from *England*, for the Payment of the Army, a great Part of which, by Traffic, or by Plunder, fell into the Enemies Hands, and enabled them to purchase whatever they wanted, as well in other Countries as in their own. The Queen finding that the Coin of the Kingdom was drained into *Ireland*, where it was of more Use to the Rebels than to her own Subjects, order'd Money to be stamp'd of a base Alloy, and to be proclaimed current throughout *Ireland*. *Tyrone* had in a short Time expended, in Arms and Ammunition, and other Necessaries, all the Money that was in his Hands, and Plunder now supplying him with none but of this base Kind, which in foreign Countries

Countries was of no Value, he was reduced to the utmost Degrees of Misery ; so that in a Country wasted by hourly Depredations, Multitudes of his Followers perished with Hunger, and others are reported to have had Recourse to the last Expedient of extreme Famine, and to have devoured one another. He then submitted himself, and being transported by Lord *Montjoy* into *England*, was kindly received by King *James*, then arrived at his new Possessions, who restored him to his Title, granted him a large Estate, and pardoned all the Rebels who were not attainted.

The Earl of *Ormonde* was continued by King *James* in his Command in the Army, but had now no longer any need to exert his military Abilities, which gave way to more gentle and peaceable Virtues, such as the Age of Seventy, at which he had arrived, made it more suitable to him to practise ; he therefore dedicated the latter Part of his Life to Works of Piety and Repentance, and mentioned with great Contrition many Irregularities, to which the tumultuary Life, which he had *so long* passed, had exposed him, and was particularly disturbed at the Remembrance of his unlawful Amours. Some Years before his Death he lost his Sight, but when he was blind married another Lady, and died at a very great Age in 1614. He was a Man remarkably graceful in his Person, and of uncommon Judgment and Knowledge ; he retain'd the Remembrance of what he had learned to a surprizing Degree.

His

His Courage in the Field, and his Spirit on private Occurrences were equally eminent: He always held the Earl of *Leicester* at declared Defiance, and made no Scruple to charge him to the Queen as a Knave and a Coward, and told *Leicester* at another Time, when they were talking of an Estate, of which he desired to purchase the Reversion, that he would never sell it him, because he knew that if he bought it, he would poison the present Possessor; for which Assertion he had either before sufficient Grounds, or at least was afterwards convinced, that he had no Reason to retract it, being himself poisoned, as there was reason to believe, by *Leicester*, and not without great Difficulty recovered. Notwithstanding the Power of all his Rivals he continued in favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, who besides the Regard which his Merit might excite, and the Gratitude which might be claimed by his Service, had sufficient Reasons of Policy not to disgust him; for as he was a Protestant, the first of his Family who had forsaken Popery, and undoubtedly the chief, if not the only *Irish* Nobleman, at that time, of the Reformed Religion, his Power might have turned the Scale of *Ireland* against her, by uniting all Parties in the Rebellion.

Before he left this Life, there remained the Care of providing for the Succession of his Family, and of settling his Estate: He had no remaining Issue, but one Daughter by his second Wife, whom he first married to his se-

D cond

cond Brother's Son, who soon left her a Widow without Children; and King *James* then obliged him, against his Inclination, to bestow her upon Sir *Richard Preston*, a *Scotsman*, who had been bred up with him, and was therefore a Favourite: To qualify him for such a Match he made him a *Scotch* Baron, and after his Marriage created him Earl of *Desmond*.

The old Earl of *Ormonde* being desirous to preserve the Honour and Influence of his Family from Diminution, gave his Daughter only two or three Manours, and six thousand Pounds, and settled the Rest of the Estate upon the Heir Male, that it might descend with the Title; but such was the King's Partiality to his Favourite, that when in 1614, Sir *Walter Butler* the eldest Son of Sir *John Butler*, third Brother to the old Earl, inherited the Title, the Estate was seiz'd by *Preston*, in Right of his Wife; and though *Walter* had an apparent Right to the Estate, by Will, as well as to the Titles by Descent, yet he never could obtain Possession, for the King espoused the Claim of *Preston* with so much Warmth, and so little Regard to Decency, that he wrote Letters in his Favour to the Council of *Ireland*, and recommended his Cause to them, as that of a Man bred up with him from his Cradle; as if that Circumstance of his Education made any Alteration in the Justice of his Claim.

At last, when the King could not prevail upon the Judges to determine according to his Inclination, he took the Decision into his own Hands,



Hands, with equal Disregard of Law and of Reputation; and having made such an Award as he had without Effect required from others, he condemned the Earl of *Ormonde* to Prison for Incompliance, and confined him in the *Fleet* for eight Years, in Misery and Want; and in the mean time seized upon his Rights, and omitted no Method of Severity or Persecution. He indeed expressed afterwards some Regret for the Cruelty with which he had treated him; but it does not appear, that his Remorse produced any Amendment, or that he redressed any of the Injuries which he seem'd to lament.

The Earl, whom no Continuance of Cruelty could subdue, at last recovered his Liberty, and returned to *Ireland*, where he died in 1632, leaving his Titles and his Estate, of which his Firmness and Resolution had preserv'd a great Part, to be inherited by his Grandson *James*, of whom it will be reasonable to expect an Account somewhat more copious than those which have been given of his Predecessors.

*James* the Seventh was born in 1610, and at the Age of three Years pass'd over into *Ireland*, a Year before the Death of the old Earl *Thomas*, whose Figure and Caresses he always afterwards remember'd. In 1619, his Father *Thomas*, eldest Son of *Walter* Earl of *Ormonde*, being drowned in his Passage to *England*, he was called Lord *James*, as Heir apparent of his Grandfather. The Year afterwards he was brought by his Mother to *England*, and lived

for a short Time with a *Popish* Schoolmaster, who bred him in the Errors of the *Romish* Church, 'till King *James*, who consider'd him as a Ward of the Crown, placed him in the House of Archbishop *Abbot* ; but having at that Time seized upon his Grandfather's Estate, allowed him only forty Pounds a Year for the Support of himself and his Servant, and made the Archbishop no Allowance for his Maintenance or Education, which was probably one Reason why he was taught Nothing, a Neglect which might have deprived the Age of one of its greatest Ornaments, had not Diligence and Capacity found means to supply the Want of Education. At the Age of sixteen he left *Lambeth*, and lived with his Grandfather, who had now recover'd his Liberty, and a great Part of his Estate ; and now being no longer confined to his former penurious Allowance, he engaged in the Amusements and Diversions of young Men, and was particularly delighted with the Performances of the Theatre ; so that most of the eminent Players had the Honour of his Acquaintance. But he did not loose in his Diversion that Regard to his Fortune and Interest, which becomes a rational and prudent Mind ; for seeing the Estate of Lord *Preston*, which had been with so much Violence forced from the House of *Ormonde* now wholly devolved to an Heiress, he found Means of marrying her, and so put an End for ever to the Differences which had given so much Disturbance

bance to both Families, and by which his Grandfather had so severely suffer'd.

In 1632, about two Years after his Marriage, he became by the Death of his Grandfather Earl of *Ormonde*, and being naturally of an active and enterprizing Character, soon engaged in publick Affairs, and grew, by the Countenance of the Earl of *Strafford*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, one of the chief Actors in the House of Peers.

The Regard which the Deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of Men, thought it always proper to shew him, was begun by a very odd Occurrence. The Animosity in the *Irish* Parliament had risen so high, that there was Danger lest their Debates should terminate in Blood, and least, as it has been related of *Polish* Assemblies, they should appeal from Argument to the Sword. For this Reason the Lord Deputy published a Proclamation by which he forbade any Man to sit in either House with his Sword, a Precaution which had been used in former Times, and in other Places where Usages were more settled, and the chief Governor was more restrained, and so was by no means unjustifiable in this Case: When the Lords therefore enter'd the House, their Swords were delivered by them at the Door to the Usher of the Black-rod, who stood ready to receive them; but when the Earl of *Ormonde* was about to enter, he refus'd to deliver his Sword, and told the Usher, who with the usual Confidence of momentary Power,

enforc'd his Demand with some Rudeness, *That if he had his Sword, it should be in his Guts.* The Deputy imagining his Authority treated by this Refusal with Contempt, sent for the Earl, and demanded the Reason of his Disobedience, but was answered, by being presented with the Writ in which he was summoned as Earl of *Ormonde* to sit in Parliament, *girded with a Sword.* The Deputy had nothing ready to offer as a Reply, and the Earl therefore was dismissed, not only without Censure, but with such Esteem of his Spirit, which was indeed on this Occasion more conspicuous than his Prudence, that the Lord Deputy had him ever afterwards in particular Esteem, and when he returned to *England* recommended him to the Privy Council, as one who was likely to prove *a great and able Servant of the Crown.*

In 1640, an Army being thought necessary to be raised in *Ireland*, the Care of making the Levies, and ascertaining their Maintenance, from the Funds which the Parliament had provided, was reposed in the Earl of *Ormonde.* This Army was to have rendezvouz'd at *Carrickfergus*, and to have been transported from thence to *Scotland*; but the Pacification which soon after followed, prevented the Execution of the Design.

The next Year broke out the terrible and bloody *Irish* Rebellion, made for ever memorable by a Rage of Cruelty scarcely ever exercised on any other Occasion, and which filled  
that



that unhappy Country for many Years with Slaughter and Desolation. The *Irish* Chiefs, and the Popish Clergy had been long dissatisfied with their Condition. The Clergy, not content even with the publick Exercise of their Religion by the Connivance of the Laws resolved to endeavour its Establishment, under the Protection of a new Government, and the Heads of the ancient *Irish* Families were infatuated with the Love of their ancient Customs, and desirous to regain, not only their ancient Authority over their Clans, but the large Districts of Lands, which, though they never were assured to the Possessor, in such a Manner as might induce him to cultivate them, they were yet angry to see granted to others, to whom they were of more Value, being settled by Law, and improved with that Industry, which Security never suffers to be wanting. Thus both these Classes of Men, which Bigotry yet suffered to have great Influence in *Ireland* were desirous to change their Condition; some perhaps, without stopping to consider what they should substitute in the Place of the Government which they resolv'd to destroy; some with no other View than of growing rich by Plunder; and some with private Schemes which they conceal'd from those by whose Assistance they were to be made effectual. But however they might differ in the End which was proposed, every Man knew that the Way by which it was to be attained, could be no other than that of Violence; and

therefore, it was no Difficulty to make the first Motions in Concert; and the Condition of most of the native *Irish*, restrained in their Religion, eclipsed by the greater Power and Affluence of Strangers, dispossessed in their own Opinion of their Lands, without any certain or lasting Property a Stock of Cattle which was all their Wealth, being after a Commotion easily recover'd, and considering themselves as engaged in a holy War against Heresy, easily determined to take any Opportunity of driving out their Inmates, who being by the Government esteem'd Masters, were doubtless by the Depravity of Human Nature too often inclin'd to be Oppressors. In an Enterprize of this kind, arising from such Motives, and incited by such Views, in a Nation where the Government was scarcely settled, where the new Property could hardly be thought established, and where therefore no Man considered the Hazard of attempting a Change, as reaching beyond his own Person, Generals and Counsellors were easily to be found. It was natural for the Heads of Families to assume the Command of their Clans, it was no less natural for Vassals to follow with Alacrity those whom they have been always instructed to look upon as their Leaders by Birth; and it is not to be doubted, that the Priests found Men whose mistaken Piety made them, even with fewer or less important temporal Motives, willing to embark in a Design which, though it should fail

fail, would not in their Opinion lose its Reward.

The chief of the first Conspirators was *Connor Macguire*, Baron of *Eneskilling*, whose Ancestors had in the Rebellion of *Tyrone* forfeited their Estates; and also had himself wasted in Extravagance that Part of it which was granted back to his Grandfather, and being embarras'd with the usual Consequences of Profusion, was by his Quality, and his Distresses, equally fitted for Engagements in which some Reputation was necessary, and in which the Prospect very much flattered both Covetousness and Ambition.

The next was *Roger More*, a Man likewise of ancient Extraction, and remarkable for the Gracefulness of his Person, the Ease of his Elocution, the Softness of his Manners, and the Flexibility of his Address. He was in his own Opinion depressed by the Greatness of the *English*, who had in their Possession a very large Extent of Lands, which was once the Territory of his Ancestors, and to which he therefore thought himself intitled. He was consequently ready to engage in any Design which might set him free from that State of Indigence which he thought Oppression, and was by Nature fitted to infuse his Opinions into those, with whom he conversed, and according to their various Conditions and Characters, to fill some with Hopes, some with Zeal, and others with Fear. But to the Honour of this Man it must be remembered, that

as he was eminent for his Understanding, he was distinguish'd likewise by his Humanity; and the Address with which he contrived the Rebellion was not disgraced by Cruelty in its Execution; for he opposed the Barbarity of others wherever his Influence extended, and at last growing weary of an Association with Monsters, he retired, and died at *Kilkenny*, without participating the worst of their Crimes.

By this artful Man was Colonel *Plunket* engaged in the same Design. He was a younger Brother of a considerable Family, of which the Estate was dissipated, and which thought itself oppressed; and he therefore being bred to Arms, was willing enough to exercise his Profession, in a Cause which promised much greater Advantages than foreign Service, and from which he could but fly to the same Service again, with more Experience and higher Reputation.

Sir *Phelim Oneile* was another of the original Contrivers of this Rebellion, like the rest indigent, and like the rest of high Extraction, two Circumstances so dangerous when united, that it may be doubted whether Nobility ought not to cease with the Riches to which it owes its Original; for it may well deserve the Diligence of Politicians to enquire, whether the Remembrance of high Birth, and Remains of hereditary Honour, unsupported by Wealth and Power, have not been more frequently Incentives of daring Wickedness than Motives of heroic Actions; and whether more have not endeavoured to restore the Dignity of their Families



milies by shaking the Government of their Country, than by studying its Interest, or promoting its Welfare.

Sir *Philip* imagined that he had a Title to all the Lands, and all the Power which his Progenitors, the Heads of one of the most numerous Families of the Nation, had formerly enjoyed; and therefore was willing to stake the little Possessions which yet remained in his Hands, against the Immensity of Greatness which shone before his Imagination; he was consequently from the Beginning, the most active of the Rebels, and might have been mentioned with less Detestation, had he not been likewise the most cruel.

The particular Steps by which this Conspiracy proceeded to Insurrection, is not consistent with the Nature of this introductory Abridgment to mention, nor the various Expedients which were formed for facilitating its Success. They promised themselves Assistance from all the Princes who were eminent for their Zeal for the Papal Religion, and perhaps, with more Certainty, from all those whose Interest incited them to wish to see the *English* Arms employed, and Counsels embarrassed, by a Rebellion in *Ireland*: In the mean time, they determined to seize all the Rents of the Kingdom for the Payment of their Soldiers, and Means were found to procure Arms for the first Bodies of Men which it might be necessary to assemble.

These Preparations were made with the  
Knowledge

Knowledge of very few then in the Kingdom; But the Diligence of their Agents in foreign Parts was too remarkable, wholly to escape the Notice of the *English* Ministers from whom the King received frequent Accounts of the general Motions of the *Irish* at foreign Courts; the Resort of both Ecclesiastics and Officers to their own Country, and of a Design to raise a Rebellion, of which Sir *Harry Vane*, by his Order advertised the Lords Justices. They had then the Government of *Ireland*, which they had obtained by their Interest in the House of Commons, and which they may therefore be reasonably suspected to have administer'd, without much Regard to the Interest, or much Respect to the Orders of the King. They might yet have been expected to use more Vigilance and Care, upon the first Hint of a Design so dangerous, even if they had consulted only the Preservations of their own Persons and Fortunes; but, though the Advice from the King was confirmed by Accounts from a \* Gentleman, whom they afterwards recommended to the

\* *Sir William Cole to the Lords Justices of Ireland.*

*Right Honourable,*

UPON *Friday* last, two of the Natives of this County, Men of good Credit, came to my House, and informed me that *Hugh Boy*, Mr. *Tirlagh*, Mr. *Henry O Neal*, a Captain which came from *Flanders* about *May* last, hath since that Time, had the chiefeſt Part of his Residence in *Tyrone*, at or near Sir *Phelim Oneil's* House, to which Place it hath been observed, there hath been more than ordinary

the Parliament, for the Intelligence of which they did not appear to have made any Use. They still suffer'd the Persons whom they had so much Reason to suspect, to continue their Interviews,

ordinary or former usual Resort of People, so frequent, that it hath bred some Suspicion of evil Intendments in the Minds of sundry Men of honest Inclinations: And these Gentlemen, my Authors do say, that they do hold no good Opinion of it, rather construing an evil Intention to be the Cause thereof. For my own Part, I cannot tell what to make or think of it.

The Lord *Maguire* in all that Time, as they inform me also, hath been noted to have very many private Journeys to *Dublin*, to the *Pale*, into *Tyrone*, to Sir *Phelim O'Neal's*, and many other Places this Year; which likewise gives divers of the Country cause to doubt, that something is in Agitation tending to no good Ends.

Upon *Saturday* last, one of the same Gentlemen came to me again, and told me, that as he was going Home the Day before, he sent his Footman a nearer Way than the Horse-way, who met with one of the Lord *Iniskilling's* Footmen, and demanded of him, From whence he came? Who made Answer, said you have made good Haste to be here so soon: To which he answered, That he came from home that Morning; and the other replying, That his Lord came home late last Night, and writ Letters all the Night, and left not a Man in or about his House, but he hath dispatch'd them several Ways, and he hath sent me this Way to *Tirlagh Oge*, *Mac Hugh*, and others also, with Letters, charging them to be with his Lordship this Night at his House.

Of which Passage I would have given your Honours sooner Notice, but that I deemed it fit to be silent, in Expectation that a little Time would produce some better Ground to afford me more Matter to acquaint your Honours withal.

Whereupon, this Day I understood by one *Hugh Mac Guire*, That the said *Tirlagh Oge*, *Mac Hugh*, *Con Connaught*, *Mac Shane*, *Mac Enabb*, *Mac Guire*, and *Oghie O'Hesey*, reported themselves to have been appointed Captains

Interviews, and to travel about upon Business which was apparently of great Importance, and probably dangerous, because it was kept secret. They still sat at Ease, in the full Enjoyment of the Name of Governors, and of the Salaries, which they took no Care to deserve, while the Destruction of the Kingdom committed to their Care, the Subversion of that Religion in which they

tains by his Lordship to raise Men, and that he had the Nomination of seven other Captains to do the like, for to serve under the King of *Spain* in *Portugal*; and that one of the said Captains, namely the said *Con Connaght*, entertain'd twelve Men.

What Authority or Commission there is for this, is not here known, but it makes some of us, that are of the *British*, to stand in many Doubts and Opinions concerning the same; and the rather, for that those three Men so named to be Captains, are broken Men in their Estates and Fortunes, two of them being his Lordship's near Kinsmen; and that if any Evil be intended, they are conceived apt Men to embrace and help therein, as any of their Degrees in this Country.

These Matters seem the more strange unto me, for that they are so privately carried, and that upon *Friday* last, I heard Sir *Frederick Hamilton* say, that the Colonels at my last being in *Dublin*, were raising of their Men to go for *Spain*, were since stayed by Command out of *England*.

I have now therefore sent this Bearer, purposely by these to make known to your Lordships, what I have heard in this Business, which I humbly leave unto your Honours Consideration, and desiring to know your Pleasures herein, with Remembrance of my most humble Service unto your Lordships, I will end these, and be ever,

*Your Lordships in all Duty to be commanded,*

*Eniskilling, 11th of  
October, 1741.*

WILL. COLE.



they appeared so zealous, and the Resumption of the Lands which they had so much Interest in retaining, was not only projected, but openly, though not professedly prepared.

This Lethargy continued till the twenty-second of *October* 1641, in the Evening, when *Owen Connolly*, an *Irishman*, of a good Family, but a Protestant, came to Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Justices, and gave him an Account with which a Governor not much celebrated for Activity or Vigilance, might be awaken'd to more than common Care, both of the Publick, and of Himself. He related, that *Hugh Oge*, or *the younger Mac Mahon*, had found him in the City at Six that Evening, and had informed him, that a Rebellion was to be next Morning begun by the Seizure of the City and the Castle. But though *Connolly* brought his Intelligence, not from any accidental or uncertain Rumour, but from the Grandson to the memorable *Tyrone*, from one of the Conspirators, who came that Afternoon to *Dublin*, to assist in the Execution of the Design, *Parsons*, who heard this Narrative with some Attention, but without entire Credit, acted with so little Prudence, that he sent him away to *Mac Mahon* for a more minute Account, instead of arresting *Mac Mahon* upon *Connolly's* Information. But recollecting when *Connolly* was departed, that there might be Truth, and consequently Danger, he ordered the Constable of the Castle to keep a strict Watch upon the Gates, and sent Notice to the Magistrates of the City to encrease their Guard.

Guard. He then went to Sir *John Borlace*, his Colleague, who resided at a House without the City, and related to him the Intelligence which he had received. *Borlace* more easily alarmed than his Partner, was immediately much disordered by the Nearness of the Danger, and the Loss of the Informer; and immediately Search was made after *Conolly*, and the Counsellors were summoned, of whom only two repaired to the Consultation. *Conolly* in the mean time returned to *Mac Mahon*, who from his Absence had formed some Suspicion of his Design, which was probably encreased by other Circumstances; and therefore when he returned, obliged him to stay with him that Night. *Conolly*, whose Business it was not to appear discomposed, sat down with him to Wine till they were both somewhat heated, and then pretending a Necessity of going down into the Yard, escaped from *Mac Mahon's* Servant, who had been sent to secure him, leaped over the Wall, and gained the Streets, where, as the Watch were seizing him, some of those whom *Parsons* had sent to find him, conducted him to the Council. There he gave an Account of the Lodgings of *Macguire* and *Mac Mahon*, upon which Guards were set at a distance, who took them, and about thirty others of small Account, in the Morning; but *Plunket*, and the other Conspirators made their Escape over the River in the Night.

Still more alarmed by the second Relation of *Conolly*, which the Examination of *Mac Mahon* in

in the Morning confirmed, the Justices began at last to think it necessary, that some farther Provision should be made for their Security; and therefore next Morning committed the Government of the City and Castle to Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who had lately erected a Fort at *Galway* with great Skill. He entered upon his Post with all the Alacrity of a brave Man, actuated by immediate Danger; and with all the Vigilance which Experience incites in Minds accustomed to contend with Difficulties. He knew the Importance of the Castle, in which was repositied a large Quantity of military Stores, and therefore at once applied himself to strengthen it with such Works, as the Exigence permitted to be added, and laboured in his Charge with such Diligence, that for fourteen Days he never rested otherwise than on the Council Table. He had at first no Soldiers, but two Hundred Men of his Regiment, which had lately been disbanded at *Carlisle*, coming to *Dublin* in quest of Bread, he formed them into Companies, which with others who fled to *Dublin* for Security, and were drawn into a Regiment, served as a Garrison till the Arrival of the Forces which were ordered to repair thither from different Quarters.

But though the City was thus secured from the Mischiefs which were intended, the Discovery of the Plot was too late to allow Time to take Measures for the Preservation of the open Country, in which the Insurrection spread without Resistance; so that Part of the King-

dom was immediately made a Scene of Slaughter, and a Heap of Devastation. The *English* lived mingled with the Natives, without Suspicion of Danger, and consequently, without any Provision against it, and were overtaken by the Rebellion, as by a Tempest raised in a Moment: The *Irish*, though many of them must be supposed to have had no Knowledge of the Design, were for the most Part easily engaged in it. They generally considered the *English* as Invaders and Oppressors, who had deprived them of their Lands, their Liberties, and their Honour; and who might therefore be justly dispossessed whenever an Opportunity should be offer'd of employing against them, the Means to which they owed their Fortunes and their Power. Among those who took up Arms, it is likely, that many retained the Remembrance of the particular Claims of their Families, and directed their Endeavours towards the Recovery of particular Estates. Such Men would act with Zeal very different from that which is incited only by general Patriotism, and as their Views were particular, their Resentment would be personal; they could only expect the Repossession of their Estates from the Destruction or Expulsion of those who had obtained them; and as it was a more expeditious, so it was a more certain Method to destroy than to expel. The common People, who had little Hopes of obtaining Estates, had at least nothing to hazard; they were fired with the Remembrance of Contempt and Derision; they



they had general Views of mending their own Condition with that of their Country, and were at least certain of immediate Plunder, and of greater Gains by Slaughter and Depredations than they had ever before been able to obtain ; and to all these Motives was superinduced a religious Fury, by which they perswaded themselves, that while they were gratifying their Greediness, or their Vengeance, they were promoting the Cause of Religion, and pleasing the Sovereign of the World, by the Extirpation of Heresy. There is no Reason for wondering that the Concurrence of so many Motives, each of which might have been alone sufficient to have excited a Rebellion, should kindle this Insurrection to an unusual Degree of Fury and Violence, Hope and Fear, Revenge and Ambition, Avarice and Enthusiasm, all contributed to raise, and to continue the Flame ; yet all are insufficient to afford a rational Account of the Cruelty which was every Day practised, or to set those who were engaged in this Scene of Confusion free from the Imputation of unnatural and detestable Barbarity ; since they committed a Thousand Acts of superfluous Villany, embitter'd the Destruction of their Enemies with needless Tortures, and destroyed with wanton and sportive Havock, those who could not resist, and who had never offended them. It was natural for the Inhabitants of unfortified Places to apply themselves in their Distress, to their *Irish* Neighbours, to implore their Protection, and commit what they thought

most in Danger to their Hands; nor can it be without Horror and Indignation related, that those who were thus trusted, destroyed their Supplicants with their own Hands, or gave them up to others, that they might be put to Death.

The most cruel, and most furious, though not the ablest Leader of this Rebellion, was Sir *Phelim Oneil*, who began the Design on the twenty-second of *October*, the Day appointed for the general Insurrection, by the Seizure of the Castle of *Charlemont*, a very important Fort upon the Pass of *Blackwater*. The Perfidy with which he transacted this first Part of his Scheme, was a natural Prelude to the Barbarities which he practised in the Prosecution of it. He sent Word to the Lord *Charlemont*, who was Governor of the Fortress, that he would that Day be his Guest, and an Entertainment was accordingly provided, to which, as was not uncommon in those Times, great Numbers resorted, as to a general Festival. Lord *Charlemont* had one Company of Soldiers in his Garrison, but they not suspecting Danger, and being equally inclined with the Strangers to pass the Day in Plenty and Merriment, laid aside their Arms, and mingled with the Company. The Table was spread, the Guests were gay, and all was Jollity and Civility, till towards Evening Sir *Phelim* finding all his Accomplices entered, and all Danger of Resistance removed, seized upon Lord *Charlemont*, and his Family, while his Followers murdered or secured

secured the Soldiers, and took Possession of the Castle.

On the same Day many other Chieftains raised their Septs, and endeavoured to take Possession of the Towns in their Neighbourhood, at some of which they succeeded, and at others were disappointed: They grew however every Day stronger, as they were absolute Lords of all that was to be found in the open Country, and had therefore sufficient Means to tempt the needy Peasants to join them. The whole County of *Cavan* was reduced by *Philip O Reily*, and seven others by other Leaders, in the first Week, and Sir *Phelim Oneil* had gather'd in the same Time a Body of near thirty Thousand Men; which is a sufficient Proof of the Readiness of the *Irish* to rebel. But is it not likewise a reasonable Ground of Suspicion, that since the Effect must bear a natural Proportion to the Cause, they had received some general Provocations; that the *English* had forgotten that Modesty, with which disputed Titles ought always to be enjoyed, and that Kindness, with which Intruders, however powerful, and however supported, ought always to endeavour to recommend themselves to original Inhabitants?

There is, however, a Distinction always to be made between Severity and Inhumanity: If the *Irish* thought themselves oppressed, and to be reinstated in the Rights of Nature only by the Sword, they might give many Arguments, and shew many Precedents for Re-

course to it ; but for the Butcheries which they committed, without Resistance, without Provocation, and without Advantage, Nothing can be pleaded, at least Nothing but what may serve as an Excuse for any other Wickedness ; that they were heated in the Prosecution of their Design beyond Compassion, and beyond Policy. It is apparent that the Followers of *Pbelim Oneil* had in a short Time learned to take Pleasure in Cruelty, and not only to murder those who fell into their Hands without Reluctance, but with Merriment and Delight ; and so much had they heighten'd their Barbarity, that if they happened to have no Prisoners to destroy, they would amuse themselves with seizing the Cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them, and would cut off the Legs of Sheep or Oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering Agonies. By this stupid Cruelty, did they destroy great Numbers of the Cattle, which the Death or Escape of the Owners put into their Hands ; and by these Practices did they in any Interval of human Massacre keep their Hearts from learning to relent.

Sir *Pbelim* was so far from endeavouring to repress this Rage of Cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own Example ; for whenever he was accidentally discomposed, his Rage always broke out in some horrible and useless Act of Cruelty. At one Time he ordered the Lord *Charlemont*, whom he had seized at *Charlemont*, to be shot ; at another he massacred great Numbers



bers whom he had received under his own Hand to quarter; and was every Day inciting himself and his Followers to new Forms of Barbarity, and accumulating one Murder upon another.

The Accounts which have been generally received of this horrid Massacre, are in many Circumstances very remote from Truth: It is asserted, that at least one hundred and fifty thousand *English* were destroyed; and to aggravate the Horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one Day; but it is certain, that there was no particular Day remarkable for Blood-shed, and it is probable, that the Numbers massacred did not exceed thirty-seven thousand, a dreadful Slaughter, which surely needs not to be made more detestable by any exaggerations.

To trace the Progress of this Rebellion, from County to County, and to shew how one City was taken after another, and all Parts of the Kingdom successively laid waste, is not necessary to the present Design; but it is always proper in relating Calamities, to mention likewise the best Manner of obviating or escaping them; and therefore it is the Duty of an Historian to observe, that the Rebellion rose to its Height, and became irresistible, not by the Valour or Policy of the *Irish*, but by the Imprudence or Cowardice of those whom they invaded. The Rebels had indeed in a short Time raised great Numbers, but they were without Arms; and therefore, if the *English*,

instead of endeavouring to provide every Man for his own private Security, had unanimously assembled in large Bodies, and opposed their Enemies in the Field, they might easily, as they wanted not Weapons, among them, have dispersed a naked and tumultuary Rabble, which could not be armed but by Degrees, with the Weapons which their Plunder furnished, and who without Arms could only distress and embarrass one another.

That this Method would have been successful, appeared from the Consequence of Resistance wherever it was made ; for at the Beginning of the Commotions, when any Gentleman, either bred to Arms, or incited by his natural Courage to dispute his Fortune and his Life, was able to collect a small Party, and to make a Stand against the *Irish*, he scarcely ever failed of defeating them, and preserving himself and his Neighbours ; till partly by Ravages, and partly by Purchase in other Countries, the *Irish* had provided themselves with Weapons, and by frequent Encounters with inferior Numbers had been taught to use them with Skill and Confidence.

Of this the Earl of *Ormonde* was so much convinced, that having about this Time received a Commission to be Lieutenant-General \* of the King's Forces, he made an Offer  
to

\* *ORMONDE*,

THOUGH I am sorry for this Occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected Rebel-

to the Lords Justices, to march against them with six Troops of Horse, and two thousand five hundred Foot, with which he made no doubt of defeating and dispersing them, if they were attacked without Delay, before they had gathered any Cavalry, or had Time to furnish themselves with Arms.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Berlace* were Men of low Extraction, and of narrow Views; and *Parsons*, who was the chief Actor, insatiably avaricious, and likely to propose to himself great Advantages from forfeited Estates. They were likewise Men of puritanical Principles, who thought they could never shew themselves sufficiently abhorrent of Papists, and with whom Popery was of itself a Crime black enough to efface any Merit. These Men were at first timorous, and suffered the Rebellion to advance, because they durst

lion of a great and considerable Part of *Ireland*; yet I am glad to have so faithful and able a Servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so important a Business. This is therefore to desire you to accept of that Charge over this, which you lately had over the former Armie; the which, though you may have some Reason to excuse, (as not being so well acquainted with this Lord-Lieutenant, as you was with the last) yet I am confident, that my Desire, and the Importance of the Business, will easily overcome that Difficultie; which layed aside for my Sake, I shall accept as a great renewed Testimonie of that Affection, which I know you have to my Service.

So referring what I have else to say to Captain *Weeme's* Relation, I rest

*Your most assured Friend,*

CHARLES R.

*Edenborough, 31st of  
October, 1641.*

durst not attempt to oppose it, and were afterwards insolent when they had received Assistance, and ordered the War to be prosecuted with unnecessary Severity ; which gave many of those, who had by the Cruelty of the first Rebels been alienated from them, Reason to enter into Alliance with them, as those whom they least abhorred, of two Parties, of which neither could be loved. They had given Intimations, that they intended the Extirpation of all the *Romanists*, whether guilty or innocent of the Rebellion ; and therefore, many who would have chosen the safest Measures, thought it prudent, to hinder by Arms that Ruin from which they conceived themselves not secured by Peace and Integrity. This was not the utmost of the Folly of these Wretches, who were trusted in this Time of Danger with the Government of a Kingdom ; for when many of the *Romish* Lords repaired to *Dublin*, with Offers of their Advice and Assistance, for the Suppression of the Rebellion, they neglected and disgusted them, and afterwards forced them out of the City, by a Proclamation, to their own Houses, where they were necessitated to preserve themselves from immediate Destruction, by such Correspondence with the Rebels, as though not criminal in itself ; because not to be avoided, was yet by the Law punishable, as Treason. From their Houses, after they had continued there some Time, they called them back, under Pretence of asking that Advice which had been before rejected ; but having



ving in the mean time given Reason for Suspicion, that they designed to destroy all those who were not Protestants, and by the Violence and Cruelty of some illegal Proceedings shewn, that there was little Hopes of Forbearance, or even of a regular Trial, for those whose Ruin should happen to be designed, they were so much distrusted by the *Popish* Lords, that their Summons was rejected, and an Answer was returned by the Lords, that they had Reason to suspect a Design against their Persons, and were therefore determined to stand upon their Guard. From refusing to obey they soon learned to oppose; nor was it reasonable to expect them long to forbear attacking those, by whom they thought their Lives intended to be taken away. They were soon perswaded to join these Rebels, whom at first they dreaded and abhorred; and by their Example a regular Association was at last formed by the Papists, for the Establishment of their Religion, and a Form of Government was instituted for the temporary Determination of Claims, and Distribution of Justice.

The Lords Justices soon took care to proclaim the Lords Traytors, and to order Inquisitions to be made after their Estates, which they did with so much Precipitation, that they hardly allowed them Time to subject themselves to Forfeiture by any Act of Rebellion. But they were not equally diligent in suppressing the Rebellion, as in gathering the Plunder which it afforded; for though their Decrees  
were

were vehement and hasty, their military Resolutions were dilatory and weak. They shew'd at once their Cruelty and their Cowardice, or their Unwillingness to extinguish the Rebellion, by ordering the Earl of *Ormonde* to burn the Houses, and waste the Estates, not only of the Rebels, but of those who harboured them, and to put to death all the Men that should be found in them able to bear Arms; and forbidding him to pursue beyond a certain Distance. The Orders of Severity he executed sparingly, and finding the Rebels flying before him, and dispersed at his Approach, he wrote for Permission to pursue them into the remoter Parts, before they should have Time to reassemble their Forces, or to recover from their Panic. These Requests for the Enlargement of his Instructions were renewed several Times, upon the Discovery of new Advantages; but the Folly, or the Wickedness of the Justices was unconquerable, they not only repeated their Orders for his Return, but enforced them, by sending him no Necessaries for his Troops.

The Restraint put upon the General was not the only one by which they prolonged the War; for when the Lords, whom they had first frightened into a Conjunction with the Rebels offered Submission, they imprisoned the Messenger, and refused an Answer: This, with an Expedient contrived for raising Money by the Appropriation of forfeited Lands, drove all those to Despair, who had involved themselves

selves in Danger, by any illegal Actions, which in that State of the Country and of the Law, were not always to be avoided by Men of the greatest Circumspection and Virtue; and therefore the Lords who would willingly have submitted, if Submission would have conferred any Security, were directed now by the Government to the Extremities of War, since by Victory they might regain their Fortunes, which they could not lessen by suffering a Defeat.

Thus, by the Imprudence or detestable Policy of the Government, was a very numerous Army, headed by Men of high Spirit, whose ancient Extraction, in a Country used to look with the greatest Regard upon noble Birth, gave them a Right to unbounded Authority, driven to Desperation, and a War, which at its Beginning was Rebellion and Butchery, was by those against whom it was levied, dignified in its Progress, and began to appear in the Eyes of some as necessary, since they could not hope to live by any other Expedient, and by others as holy, since they were threatened to be extirpated on Account of their Religion: When Men can once be persuaded that their Actions are just, they execute them with Confidence, and when they think them necessary, they direct all their Powers to their Completion; the Governors of *Ireland* had therefore taken very effectual Measures to make the Rebels formidable, and were soon able to discern the Effects of their Measures; for the Enemies daily gathered new Strength, and though they were yet

yet not much acquainted with War, were every Hour making Improvements, sometimes by Success, and sometimes by Defeats, which often afford better Instruction.

Of a total Overthrow they were in no danger, because they were scatter'd over the Country in very small Parties; yet almost every where more numerous than the Troops by which they were opposed; and therefore the ill Success of an Action was of no great Importance; because its Consequence extended but to the District in which it happened, and because their Numbers were easily repaired.

But the frequent Vicissitudes of the War gave very little Disturbance to the Justices, who making no doubt but that the Papists must at last be conquered, seem'd to think the Diffusion of the Rebellion no Inconvenience, because more Estates would be forfeited, as greater Numbers should be engaged in it: This seems to have been, if not their first and leading Sentiment, yet always a collateral and concurrent Notion, and this hateful Scheme of enlarging Guilt to extend Punishment, must make them always act faintly in any military Attempts, in which they scarcely ever concurred, without apparent Designs of restraining their Effects; nor could it escape Notice, with what Violence they pursued every Proposal which had a Tendency to inflame the Nation, to make the Devastations of War universal, and to cut off all Hope of Mercy or Accommodation.

In the Midst of this Assemblage of Miseries  
the



the Earl of *Ormonde* continued to serve the King with all the Zeal that Bravery and Fidelity could inspire, though not with the Success which might have been expected from him, had he been at Liberty to form his own Measures, and to lay hold on those Advantages which, whenever his own Diligence had procured them, the Delays of the Justices compelled him to lose; and in the mean time he was forced to struggle with numberless Calumnies, which his Loyalty to the King probably drew upon him; for at this Time the prevailing Party in *England* began to set their Sovereign at open Defiance, and to charge him amongst other Attempts against the Constitution and Religion of the Nation, with the Crime of having encouraged the Rebellion and Massacre of *Ireland*.

The Lords Justices among other Acts of Cruelty, had, on this Occasion, Recourse to the most shocking Practice of Tyranny, and when they were in Hopes of any Discovery, frequently examined those whom they had seized on the Rack: One of the Questions which was required to be answered in the Torture was, whether the King had commanded or encouraged the Rebellion. Sir *Phelim Oneile* had indeed, by forging a Commission in the King's Name, and affixing to it the Great Seal, which he tore from a Writing at *Charlemont*, given the Enemies of the King occasion to represent him to such as were willing to believe any thing, that might make him odious to the  
People,

People, \* as a Favourer of the Design to extirpate the Protestants; but the Improbability of the Accusation, made it sufficiently contemptible among impartial Men, and the King's own Conduct, was an hourly Confutation; and it therefore shewed the utmost Degree of Malignity in them, who examined only by his Authority, to make such Enquiries as could have no other Effect than to withdraw the Affection of his People from him.

The Earl of *Ormonde* having defeated the Rebels at *Kilrush*, and distinguished himself by many other Actions as a General and a Subject, the King, since his Affairs were at that Time in such a Situation that he had nothing but Honours to bestow, thought it proper to distinguish him by a higher Title; and therefore

\* *The Account given by Mr. CARTE in his History of the Duke of Ormonde, so fully vindicates King Charles from this horrid Accusation, that it cannot be omitted, without neglecting to do Justice to Truth and Innocence.*

How he (Sir *Phelim*) came by the Broad-Seal, is explained in the Deposition of Dr. *John Ker*, late Dean of *Ardmagh*, who was present at Sir *Phelim Oneil's* Trial and Execution. Sir *Phelim* appeared in the Court, with a visible Remorse for the Blood he had shed in the Rebellion, and a Desire of washing away the Guilt of his former Crimes by Repentance. He was tried in the *Chancery* Court of *Dublin*, where the Judges sat, and were directed what Questions they should ask by a Committee who planted themselves in an adjoining Room called the *Chancery-Chamber*. A Communication was kept between this Committee and the Judges, by means of a Messenger who went constantly between them, relating to the Committee

all

fore in 1642, created him Marquis of *Ormonde*. About the same Time a Controversy between him and the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord Lieutenant, was decided in such a Manner, as gave him Power to dispose while the Lord Lieutenant was absent, of all the Posts that should become vacant in the Army, by which his Interest was encreased, and his Authority confirmed; as the Soldiers had no Means of obtaining Preferment, but by gaining the Approbation of their General.

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all Proceedings that passed in Court, and bringing from them Instructions to the Judges on every Occasion, speaking to them through a square Hole in the Wall. The Trial was drawn out into a Length of several Days, in hopes that the Criminal might in that Time be wrought upon to save his Life, by blackening the Memory of the late King. On the first Day, he was asked by the Court, If he had not a Commission from *Charles Stuart* (so they called the deceased King) for levying war? To which he answered positively, *That he never had any such Commission*. But it being proved, that he had shewed such a Commission to some Persons then in Court, Sir *Phelim* confess'd, that when he surprized the Castle of *Charlemont*, he found there a Patent of Lord *Caulfield's*, from which he ordered Mr. *Harrison*, another Gentleman, to cut off the King's Broad Seal, and affix it to a Commission, which he had ordered to be drawn up. Mr. *Harrison* being then present, did, in the Face of the whole Court confess, that pursuant to the said Order, he stitched the Silk Cord or Label of that Seal, with Silk of the Colours of the Label, and then fix'd the Label and Seal to the said Commission. Sir *Phelim* being asked the Reason, Why he thus deceived the People? replied, That he did it to promote the Cause in which he was engaged; and for such a Purpose all means whatsoever were excusable in Policy. On the second Day, he was told

But this new Dignity conferred no Strength; and he was only exposed to the Mortification of seeing himself unable to return the Regard which had been shewn him by his Master, by any important Service, which he had every Day less Hopes of effecting, as the Parliament declared more openly against the King. Some Forces were indeed sent, but under Commanders, who rather hinder'd than promoted the Subjection of the Rebels; for, by plundering all indiscriminately, they weakened those most, who

told by some of the Judges, That if he could produce any material Proof, that he had such a Commission, and would pronounce it before Sentence should pass against him, he should be restored to his Estate and Liberty. Sir *Phelim* answered, That he had no such Proof: yet they gave him Time to consider of this Proposal to the next Day, which was the last of his Trial. Sir *Phelim* being then brought again before the Court, and urged, as before, to produce his Proof, gave the same Answer, That he had none; and went on to express his Remorse for the Outrages committed in the Management of the War; declaring, that he could not in Conscience add to them the unjust calumniating of the King, though he had been frequently solicited thereto, by fair Promises and great Rewards, while he was in Prison. He was proceeding in this Course, but was interrupted in the Midst of it, and Sentence of Death was pronounced against him. At his Execution, when he was upon the Ladder, one *Peake*, and another Provost Marshal, came riding in great Haste towards the Place, and calling aloud to the Executioner to stop a little, made their Way through the Throng of Spectators and Guards, till they got to Sir *Phelim*, to whom one of them whispered for a good while. Upon which Sir *Phelim* answered aloud, in the Hearing of several Hundreds of People, (of whom the Deponent was one) “ I thank the Lieutenant-General for his  
“ intended



who were least able to bear new Losses ; by disregarding all those who acted by the King's Authority, they destroyed the Union which was necessary to Success, and by treating the whole Kingdom with unreasonable Severity, they encouraged the Opinion, that nothing less than Extirpation was intended ; and therefore, added to the Ardour of Resentment, the

F 2 *and the Fury*

“ intended Mercy ; but I declare, good People, before  
 “ God and his holy Angels, and all of you that hear me,  
 “ that I never had any Commission from the King for  
 “ what I have done in the levying or Prosecution of this  
 “ War, and do heartily beg your Prayers, all good Ca-  
 “ tholicks, that God may be merciful unto me, and for-  
 “ give my Sins.” Such was the End which Sir *Phelim*  
*Oneil* made, with greater Resolution than those who tempt-  
 ed him to so black a Villainy expected, or than himself had  
 shewn in any Part of his Life. Dr. *William Sheridan*, for-  
 merly Bishop of *Kilmore*, and the late Mr. *Lock*, a very  
 worthy Man, and well known in *Ireland* by the Name of  
 Father *Locke*, as some younger Members, that sat with  
 him in the House of Commons there, used to stile him,  
 were present at the same Time, and have to many Gentle-  
 men now living, confirmed the Truth of Dean *Ker's* Re-  
 lation; to which Nothing can be added, unless, to gratify the  
 Reader's Curiosity, it is observed, that the Lieutenant-Ge-  
 neral therein mentioned, was *Ludlow*, the Regicide, who,  
 after having signed his Hand to the Murther of the King's  
 Person, was desirous to assassinate him again in his Memo-  
 ry; and that the very Patent which from the Great Seal was  
 torn, and which contained a Grant of some Lands in the  
 County of *Tyrone*, was about five or six Years ago, in a  
 Suit of Law in relation to those Lands, produced at the  
 Assizes of *Tyrone*, by the late Lord *Charlemont*, having on  
 it evident Marks of the Seal's being torn from it, and an  
 Endorsement proving the Fact ; and was allowed by the  
 Judges, as a proper Evidence to prove his Lordship's  
 Right to the Lands in question.

Fury of Despair. The Marquis was restrained in the Execution of his Powers, by Directions from the Justices, unseasonably, and offensively circumstantial, and was so much perplexed with Distrust and Misrepresentation, that nothing prevented his Resignation of his Command, but the certain Knowledge that he should be succeeded by some one not equally anxious to promote the Advantage, and defend the Honour of the King.

These Discouragements were now likely to grow every Day greater, for the Parliament had now entered into an open War against the King; and therefore, as there was very little Hope that the *English* Forces, acting under opposite Authorities, would consider each other any longer, as Friends, the General was thenceforth to struggle not only with the *Irish*, but with Seditious Mutineers in those Forces which he was expected to command.

To encrease the Labour of his Post, the *Irish*, at this Time, received great Reinforcements. Owen Oneil and Thomas Preston, who had long distinguished themselves in foreign Service, brought over a great Quantity of warlike Stores, and prevailed upon a Multitude of Officers to accompany them, and therefore, the *English* were no longer likely to have only a wild, naked, and undisciplined Rabble to encounter, for they had now Cannon both for the Field, and for Battery, and Arms of every Kind, with Officers, who could instruct them in their Use; they had now Men among them  
skilled

skilled in Fortification, and qualified to attack and defend a strong Place, and to compleat their Prosperity, the Number and Strength of the Ships which brought their Supplies, made them, for some Time, Masters of the Sea.

The Papiſts being now in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, thought it neceſſary to form a Plan of temporary Government, till the Peace of the Country ſhould be finally ſettled; they therefore ſummoned a Convention of Deputies, from all Parts of the Kingdom, which they took Care to diſtinguiſh from a Parliament, by declaring, that it was only a Meeting enforced by the Neceſſity of concerting Meaſures for their own Security; and that their Determinations were to bind no longer than till a Parliament ſhould be legally called. This Aſſembly was formed in the Manner of a Parliament, one Houſe conſiſting of the Lords and Biſhops, and the other of the Deputies of Boroughs and Counties. The Clergy had likewiſe their Houſe of Convocation; but, as they ſeemed too much to inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of their ancient Eſtates, they did not obtain much Influence upon the Reſt of the Aſſembly.

For the more expeditious and eaſy Diſtribution of Juſtice, they eſtabliſhed Provincial Councils, conſiſting of two Deputies from each County, and Councils for Counties compoſed of Representatives choſen by the People: the County Courts had the Determination of all civil and criminal Cauſes; but there might an

Appeal be made to the Provincial Council, and from thence to the General Council assembled at *Kilkenny*, where twelve Counsellors were to be always resident. In this Council was placed the supreme Power of the Kingdom, they were to issue Orders to the Generals, and to receive regularly from them an Account of their Conduct, their Schemes, and their Success; and all the Decrees of the Council were to be considered as Laws, till they were abrogated by the General Assembly.

While the General Assembly was sitting, the Lords Justices had called a Parliament, in which they appeared only desirous to make the Rebellion general, and to inflame the Papists to greater Degrees of Violence, by new Severities; for they projected new Penalties, and endeavoured to find Expedients for hastening the Dispatch of the Bills, which, at such a Time, could be of no other Effect, than to spread universal Calamity over all the Island. A thousand Acts of needless Cruelty were practised, and innumerable Opportunities of reconciling their Enemies obstinately rejected. They thought the Marquis of *Ormonde* blameable for granting Protections to some, who had lived in an inoffensive Obedience to the Government, and receiving the Submissions of others, who had offered to return to their Allegiance; and by these Rules of Government, apparently strengthened the Papists, since they forced many, who would have been willing to live as Friends, to take Shelter among the Enemies, but



but suffered none, whom they had once considered as an Enemy, to return again to the Condition of a Friend.

The Army, in the mean time, by which these Laws were to be enforced, was discontented in the highest Degree, having no Pay, no Cloaths, and no Provisions; and therefore the Officers were ready to resign their Commissions, and the Soldiers to desert the Service. These Miseries, which were the Subjects of hourly Complaints, the Justices either wanted Inclination, or, which is more probable, Power to redress, there being then very little Money in the Treasury, and the Papists being Masters of the open Country, and levying Taxes for the Support of their Troops, and the Procurement of Arms and Ammunition. The Officers finding no Redress from the Methods which they had hitherto tried, resolved to send an Agent to represent their Condition to the King, but they could not procure a Pass for that Purpose, the Justices being so unwilling that any Information should be given to the King, that they laid, for some Time, an Embargo upon the Shipping, to stop the Messenger: this equally disgusted and oppressed the Army, and the Merchants; the Embargo was soon countermanded, as a Grievance not to be supported, and the Agent found Means to carry the Representation to the King, but without any other Advantage than the Satisfaction of a kind Reception, and Promises that they should receive Assistance, whenever

it should be in the Power of their King to grant it.

It was, however, necessary to send the Army into the Field, and an Expedition was intended for the Conquest of *Ross* and *Wexford*. The Marquis of *Ormonde* set out therefore with his Forces, and came before *Ross* on the 12th of *March* 1643, and would soon have been able to take it, being at first but weakly garrison'd, had not the Justices neglected to send him, not only Ammunition, but Victuals for his Soldiers, all which being to be transported by Sea, were so negligently provided, that the Wind, which was for many Days favourable, altered before the Vessel was ready for the Voyage, and the Army, instead of annoying the Enemy, had no Care so pressing, as that of procuring Bread, which was sent, in a very little Quantity from the Garrison of *Duncannon*.

Having no Provisions, and being unable to lye before a Town well provided, they first resolved upon an Attack, which was made without Success, though with no great Loss; but there was no Time for enlarging the Breach, or proceeding by more slow and certain Methods; for *Preston* had now gathered an Army of six thousand Foot, and six hundred and fifty Horse, and by having Possession of the Country, cut off the Foragers, and reduced the Besiegers to the Necessity of abandoning their Design, or of starving in their Camp. A Council was called in this Exigence, by  
which

which it was soon determined to come to an Engagement, for there was indeed nothing else in their Power; and therefore, the Army was immediately drawn off from before the Place, and marched against the Enemy, who determining to give them Battle, waited for the Attack. The Battle lasted not long before *Preston's* Troops gave way, and fled first to a Bog, and then over the *Barrow*, where he broke down the Bridge behind him, and left the Marquis to supply himself with Necessaries from the Country, which was now wholly at his Mercy.

But the Distress and Poverty of the Army was the same after the Victory as before it, for though the Country, which was now open to them, furnished them with Provision for their Retreat, yet being naked and exhausted, it could not supply any Stores for a longer Support, and therefore they returned to *Dublin*, where they found the same Distress, and where they were again to represent, to remonstrate, to petition, and to starve.

The Justices were still unwilling that the King should receive any Information of the State of the Nation, or of the Army; and therefore, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, who was not equally inclined to make his Sovereign contemptible, sent without their Concurrence, such a Narrative as was concerted by him with several of the Privy Council. This, with other Accounts, which had been transmitted, had such an Effect, that Sir *William Parsons* was

was at length removed from his Post of Lord Justice, and was succeeded by Sir *Henry Tichburne*, who had more Affection for the King's Service.

But the Change of one of the Governors, though it might set the Marquis free from some Embarrassments, could contribute very little to the Support of the Army, whose Necessities grew every Day more pressing, and whose Hopes of Relief became more distant, for the Papists enlarged their Quarters on every Side, and the Imprudence of some Officers, and the Barbarity of others, by whom the Protestants were commanded, was such, that they were perpetually encreasing that Hatred, which among Bigots was naturally raised by the Imputation of Heresy, and disposed Multitudes to rise against them, who had of themselves no Inclination to War or Necessity of living by Plunder.

Distress thus hourly encreasing, and the Enemy, though they were often driven out of the Field, yet returning to it with greater Numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the King, that a Cessation of Arms should be proposed, and a Commission to treat was sent to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, who thought it necessary, but knew not how to set it on foot, without Inconvenience or Disgrace to his Sovereign. It was necessary to the King's Honour, that the first Offer should be made by the Rebels; and it was likewise proper that the Council should own in some solemn Man-  
ner,



ner, their Conviction of the Impracticability of establishing the Peace of the Kingdom by any other Means. In order to procure the first Overtures from the *Irish*, Agents were employed who after long Deliberation, prevailed upon them to propose a Cessation for twelve Months; and that the Justices might have no Pretences that a Negotiation of such Importance was set on foot, either without their Concurrence, or in Opposition to their Advice, the Marquis first demanded in a full Council, whether any Man could offer a Proposal more honourable for the King, or more advantageous to the Nation than that of a Cessation. None had any thing to offer, or could give Information of any Measures that had a probable Appearance of Success; and therefore a Cessation was necessarily to be admitted, as the only Resource then remaining. The Marquis was willing however, that no Possibility of a Suspicion should be left, that might subject this Part of his Conduct to the Imputation of Cowardice, or Inclination to gratify the Rebels by Concessions which might have been avoided; and therefore, to put a Stop for ever to all such Insinuations, he made an Offer, that if the Justices and Council, who were best acquainted with the Condition of the State, could procure only ten thousand Pounds, Half in Money, and Half in Victuals, he would still prosecute the War, and endeavour to enlarge his Quarters. Upon this Proposal, the Mayor of *Dublin*, and some of the most wealthy of the Citizens,

were

were required to attend, and consulted by what Means such a Supply might be procured ; but they declared their Opinion, that no such Levy could be made, and that the Country was too much exhausted to be able to give any farther Assistance for its own Preservation. The Marquis was therefore at full Liberty to pursue his own Measures, and proceed to negotiate a Cessation.

But this, like all other Negotiations, proceeded very slowly, each Party being in hopes of gaining some Advantage during the Treaty, and of being in Consequence able to obtain more advantageous Conditions ; but this Hope was soon found by the Marquis to be on his Part, without Foundation, for having marched out to fight *Preston*, he was obliged to retreat without Action, having, as was usual, no Victuals for his Army.

It is not to be imagined, but that the Rebels were fully sensible of their own Superiority, and were therefore not easily to be perswaded to a Cessation, on such Terms, as it was fit to allow them ; for it was necessary for the Government to maintain an Air of Superiority, even when its Distresses could not but be known, and therefore it was not to be avoided, that many Difficulties would arise, which between Enemies of another Kind could not have happened : About this Time arrived likewise a Commissioner from the Pope, with a Supply of Money, and with Stores for War ; These added great Weight to the Influence  
which

which he exerted in opposing the Cessation; but there were still in the Army of the Papists, Men of great Rank and Reputation, who still retained their Duty to the King, and who wished with the utmost Ardour, to put a Stop to the Desolations of their Country; these Men struggled very earnestly for the Cessation, and by their Means it was at last concluded.

The Articles were not ratified till the fifteenth of *September*, and in the mean time, the *Irish* had not only gathered in the Harvest almost without Interruption, but had frequently adventured by Night into the other Quarters, and reaped the Corn, and carried it away; so that the only just Complaint that could be made against the Cessation was, that it was too long delayed; but that Delay was unavoidable, where so many Men, of different Interests, Opinions, and Inclinations, were to be consulted. The Cessation however, while it hurt only the Papists, whose Union it broke, and whose Ardour it relaxed, was represented by the Enemies of the Marquis, and not less by those of the King, as an unseasonable and unnecessary Concession, and loud Clamours were raised, as if the Protestant Interest had been betrayed, and the Nation given up by Treaty.

This Cessation being thus concluded, the Influence, Fidelity, and Diligence of the Marquis of *Ormonde* became so conspicuous, that it was thought necessary to confer upon him the Lieutenantancy of the Kingdom, and he soon afterwards

afterwards received the Sword, and entered up<sup>n</sup> on his Office, not indeed with much Hope of serving his King, or of remedying many of the Disorders: They had proceeded too far, to give Way to a Government which was without any Force to support it, which only a very small District professed to obey, and which had no Advantage, but that of its Legality. He had therefore this only Comfort, that tho' he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other Man; and that what Authority was yet maintained by his Sovereign in *Ireland*, was the Consequence of the Reputation and Influence of the Lieutenant.

In the Beginning of his Lieutenancy he was embarrassed with many Difficulties, which cannot in this Place be recounted; he was to endeavour to retain all, without having the Means of recompensing any; he was to command without the Power of Compulsion; there were few who thought their Duty of so much Importance as to be preferable to their Interest, and undoubtedly many, if they were inclin'd to the right, were in the Distraction of opposite Motives unable to determine their own Choice. In the Midst of these perplexing Disturbances, it was hoped that he might send some Assistance to the Royalists; but Armies could not be enlisted, nor transported, without Pay and Provision, and he was unprovided with Money.

The *Irish* during the Quiet of the Cessation, by which some Desires of a fixed and lasting Peace could not but be excited, sent Commis-  
sioners



sioners to *Oxford*, to treat with the King, but at first, proposed Conditions, which could not without Reproach, be made the Foundation of a Treaty, and on which therefore no Conference was allowed. They soon discovered that they had required more than could be granted, and therefore, in a few Days, moderated their Demands, insisting only, on the Abrogation of the penal Laws against Recusants, the Rights of enjoying Posts and Offices in the Government, the Exclusion from the Parliament of all Persons who had not Estates in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and a general Act of Oblivion, which should secure both Person and Estate. To those several other Propositions were added, of less Importance, or less extensive in their Consequences.

In opposition to these Proposals made by Men who had unquestionable Authority to treat, and who were deputed by the supreme Council, other Demands were offered by Men, who without any authentic Proof of their Delegation, stiled themselves Agents for the Protestants. These Men required all that was inconsistent with the Desires of those who offer'd Peace, and in all their Propositions shewed themselves resolved to lose Nothing by the Divisions of their Country? They proposed, that Satisfaction should be made by the Papists for all the Detriment which the Protestants had suffered in the War; that all the Houses and Castles which had been destroyed, should be rebuilt at the Expence of the Papists; that all  
those

those who had taken Arms, should forfeit their Estates; that all Goods, and Money taken away should be restored; that all Ecclesiastics should be banished; and that Popery should be suppressed.

These were the Articles, branched out into more Particulars, which they who came with the specious Title of Agents for the Protestants, thought it proper to stipulate. What were their Views, Whether the Advancement of the Protestant Interest, the Augmentation of their private Fortunes, the Gratification of their Resentment, or the Perplexity and Embarrassment of their King, it is not easy to determine; but it is apparent that they must have considered their own Scheme with no great Attention, if they could think it likely to produce an Accommodation; and they must have taken a very careless Survey of the State of *Ireland*, if they thought the Protestants able to renew the War. Of the Proposals it has been well observed, that they are inconsistent with themselves, for they require that the Rebels should make Reparation for the Devastations of the War, and insist, at the same Time, that they should forfeit their Estates. The Articles are in general, such as could not, without Hardship, be imposed by a Conqueror; and such therefore, as a Nation elate with Victory, could not be expected to accept.

The King, whose Affairs at that Time equally required that he should please the *English*, and make Peace with the *Irish*, was embarrassed

barass'd with this Contrariety of Application : He gave them however some general Answers and many Concessions, which impaired his own Revenue, but was inflexible with regard to some others, and he offered to confer Posts of Honour upon such of the Papists as should merit them by their future Behaviour; yet tho' his Concessions in general were much less than they had taught themselves to expect, they expressed themselves in Terms of the utmost Reverence and Submission, and declared, that they did not think he could at that Time, with Safety grant more.

Such was then the State of the Treaty, the *Irish* could not accept what the King could grant, and the King could not grant more, without giving his Enemies an Opportunity of renewing their Clamours. It was therefore propos'd by his Counsellors, who were afraid of giving any Advice, which might be less consistent with their own Security, to refer the Treaty of Peace wholly to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, who was more acquainted than they with the Condition of *Ireland*, and whose personal Influence on many of the Commissioners, might enable him to reason with more immediate Reference to their particular Opinions and Designs, and to suggest Motives more likely to operate upon their Minds, than general Arguments. His Knowledge likewise of the Affairs of the Kingdom which was under his Government, would give him Opportunity of distinguishing between the Propositions of

more or less Importance, and of the Consequences which might be hoped or feared from any Grant, or any Denial.

There were not indeed Reasons wanting for throwing the Burthen of this Treaty upon the Lord-Lieutenant; but most of the Arguments which inclined the Council at *Oxford* to chuse him for the Task, were of equal Weight to determine him against the Undertaking. The Difficulty and the Danger were the same to him, as to those who so carefully avoided them and he had likewise peculiar Hardships in his Circumstances: He was to treat with Enemies, who had him in their Power, he was encompassed by Men who were jealous of his Readiness to sacrifice all Considerations to the Interest of the King, whose Power in *Ireland* grew by Defection and Misfortunes every Day less. A Treaty was however set on foot, in which the *Irish* repeated most of the Demands which they had made at *Oxford*, and the Lieutenant insisted upon such Conditions, as he thought might be most honourable for the King, and most advantageous for the Protestants; but as they proceeded with opposite Designs, they were not likely to accommodate their Notions to each other, and after a Conference of some Days, it was found, that nothing could be concluded, and all Hope of Peace was at an End.

The Event of this Treaty gave the Lieutenant new Conviction of the Impossibility of any valuable Service to be performed by him; and



and as it was natural to desire, that it might appear from equal Failures in others, that his Impotence was not the Effect of Negligence, or Want of Dexterity, and, as he soon grew weary of a Post, in which he found nothing but the Name of Authority, and the Pomp of Government, he intreated the King's Permission to lay down the Sword, that the Direction of the Affairs of *Ireland* might be committed to some Person more equal to the Burthen. It is not unlikely, that when he offered this Request, he wanted not Reasons for supposing that it would not be granted. He could not but know, that the Lieutenantcy, however it might have lost its ancient Power, was yet able to effect more in his Hands, than could be accomplished by any other Person; because he added to his publick Commission his personal Influence, his Fortune, his Alliances, and the hereditary Credit of his Family; it was not yet improper, that when he could effect so little, he should resign his Post, least he should seem to have indulged a mean and useless Ambition, and to have desired the empty Title of Governor, when he despaired of obtaining the Power. The King knew how little was to be expected from the greatest Abilities, and the most exact Fidelity; he was convinced, that nothing could be gained by the Change of Hands, and therefore resolved to continue him in his Office; and that he might be less dissatisfied with the Expence, and less embarrassed by Opposition, a Grant was made to him of Lands, by which

the Diminution of his Fortune might be compensated, and Power was granted him to remove disaffected Persons from the Council-board, and to make such Alterations as he should think necessary, in all the subordinate Governments, and Posts of civil or military Authority.

The Conduct of the Lieutenant in the Management of the Treaty, and his Resolution in adhering to his Demands, were very satisfactory to the King, but the abrupt Termination of the Conferences, as it gave no Prospect but of a new War, to which the Force of the Protestants was by no Means equal, inclined him rather to make more Concessions, than to expose to certain Ruin a Kingdom which he found himself wholly unable to protect. He therefore sent the Marquis an Authority to conclude a Peace, upon the best Terms that could be obtained, with very few Limitations, and those almost annulled by verbal Promises, and secret Assurances, that what it was not proper to grant by Treaty, should be enjoyed by Indulgence.

These Conditions might have been, perhaps, accepted, had not the *Irish* always hoped, that the same Necessity which extorted these, would in a very short Time, force the King to allow them better; for they saw the King's Power every Day declining, and themselves strengthened by new Assistance; they had laid in the Provisions of the Year, and were certain in a few Months to reduce the Protestants to their  
Mercy

Mercy, by irresistible Famine; they were at Ease in the full Enjoyment of almost all that they desired, and did not therefore press forward the Treaty with much Eagerness, because though it should terminate as they demanded it would give them Nothing but what they then possessed, and indeed, it could not be expected not to take Something away; it would at least deprive them of the pleasing and advantageous Privilege of living by Plunder, of driving away the Cattle of the Protestants, and reduce all the common Men to the disagreeable Necessity of eating by their Labour, which they so much hated and dreaded, that they would rather spend their Lives in continual Alarms, and the Hazards of fighting for the Sustenance of the Day. Such was the Disposition of the *Irish* Army, and therefore their Chiefs were at full Liberty to raise any Obstacles against the Conclusion of a Peace.

The State of the King and his Lieutenant was very different. The King, oppressed by the Rebellion in *England*, desired a Treaty with the utmost Earnestness, in Hopes of Assistance from the *Irish* Army, which had been so long enured to Hardships, and to Arms, that they were compleatly disciplined, and had contracted that Familiarity with Danger, which makes it easily despised. The Lord Lieutenant was under a Necessity of hastening a Peace, not only for the Sake of his Master, of whose Distresses he was in the highest Degree sensible; but because he knew himself

absolutely unable to continue the War; and therefore, though his Inability was as well known to his Enemies as himself, he found Means of renewing the Treaty.

The *Irish*, to avoid the Imputation of Rebels, a Term which they always resented, could not refuse to enter upon a Treaty, when they were invited to mention their Grievances by the chief Governor; yet shew'd in their Demands, that Arrogance which Success naturally produces, and that Contumacy, which is always the Concomitant of Conferences, when only one Party desires them to end in an Accommodation. They now rose in their Terms, and in the next Conference produced a new and unexpected Interpretation of one of the King's Concessions, which they required to be received and acknowledged as the true Meaning. It had been promised by the King, that the Papists of *Ireland* should be capable of enjoying Places and Preferments in their own Country, *equally* with his other Subjects: from this Allowance they deduced an Inference, that the Papists were to have an *equal* Number of Places with the Protestants, and proposed this Division of the Government, as the first Condition of the Peace; but found the Lieutenant, however distressed, still firm enough to refuse it.

But as the King's Affairs were daily declining, and therefore did not admit of any Delay, the Hopes of obtaining Assistance from the *Irish* induced the Government to make new Concessions,



Concessions, with which the more reasonable and moderate of the Papists might have been satisfied, and a Peace would have been speedily concluded, had only the Publick Interest been regarded; but there were among the *Irish*, Men, whom no Concessions or Securities could content, because they did not in reality desire a Peace, at least, they desired no Peace, which would not divest their Sovereign of his Authority, and place the Power and Riches of the Kingdom in their Hands,

Some of these were the Savages, who in the first Insurrection had committed such inhuman and unnecessary Murders, that they were detested even by their own Party; and therefore, could not but expect to be given up to Justice, after a Peace, or as the mildest Sentence which their Guilt admitted, to live in perpetual Exile; and it cannot be imagined, that Men so wicked spared any Practices, by which the Treaty might be retarded, which they knew, however advantageous it might be to the Nation, must be certain Ruin to themselves. It had been happy, if these had been to have struggled alone against the Publick Interest; for they were so generally detested that their Influence would have been easily repressed, but the Difficulty was encreased by another Body of Men, whose Power has been always great, and among Men fighting for the Promotion and Defence of their Religion, might be expected to have risen beyond its common Bounds. The Clergy, who had seen the Pro-

gress of the War, and attributed, as it is probable, the Success with which it had been carried on, to the Efficacy of the Religion which was professed by the *Irish*, were by no Means willing that such a Cause should be forsaken when it was victorious, or that any of the Ecclesiastical Advantages which had been gained, should now be yielded up; and they therefore demanded, in a solemn Manner, with all the Enforcements which their Church puts into their Hands; that the Churches of which they were in Possession, should by an express Stipulation be secured to the Papists, for the publick Exercise of their Religion.

This was such a Demand as was not expected, and was yet so naturally made by the Clergy, and agreed so well with the Zeal to which the Nation had been heated in the long Continuance of the War, that it was not safe nor popular to oppose it; for it might not very improperly be asked, by those who had been prevailed upon to engage in the War, under the Pretence of Religion, for what they had been so long contending, if, when they had the Country at their Mercy, and the Churches in their Power, they suffered themselves to be denied the Advantages of Conquest, and submitted to see the Places of Worship put again into the Hands of the Protestants.

The Authority of the Clergy was so great, and the Ardor for the Dignity of Religion so predominant, that many of the Leaders, who would willingly have resigned any Advantages  
of

of their own for the Promotion of a Peace, so necessary at once to their King and to their native Country, were yet afraid of receding from this Demand, lest they should seem to desert their Cause, and betray that Religion which they had been taught to consider as the first, the purest, and the best. Here was therefore an Obstacle not easily to be surmounted, the Papists were unwilling to recede from their Demand, and the Government had not the Power to grant it, nor indeed, did the Protestants shew less Ardour for regaining the Churches, than was expressed by the Papists for keeping them.

A middle Way was at length discovered, which was perhaps the best, that in such a State of Interests and Opinions could possibly be taken. The Protestants could not resign the Churches, nor the Papists restore them; nothing therefore was left, but to pass that Article over without Determination, and without Conference, the Papists hoping that a fitter Time would come, to claim the Right which they had not given up; and the Protestants supposing that when the Regularity of the Government was restored, the Churches would revert to them by the Decision of the establish'd Law. Thus both Parties were appeas'd, but neither fully gratified, and the Treaty was again renewed, and Hopes again revived of a happy; and what was necessary to Happiness, a quick Conclusion.

But while the honest and wise Men of both  
Parties

Parties were delighted with these Expectations, the fatal Battle of *Naseby* was fought, and the King reduced to greater Difficulties, which instead of hastening the Treaty, and the Succours which were expected from it, elated the *Irish* to new Demands arising from a higher Opinion of their own Importance, and from the Belief that the King could refuse them Nothing, since he could now hope for the Reparation of his Condition, only from their Assistance. They therefore now were no longer content to treat upon the former Terms, but reviv'd the highest of their former Pretensions, and produced new Claims, which they do not appear to have been mentioned before.

They were now no longer content to be silent with Regard to the Possession of the Churches, for they not only demanded that they should be yielded to them by an express Stipulation, but that the Forts and Castles which were in their Hands, should be retain'd by them, and that all the Grants of the King, or his Father to their Disadvantage should be revoked; that the Power of their Church should be established in its utmost Extent; that they should be secured by a general Pardon from all Censure and Punishment; and that all the great Offices of the Kingdom should be shared between them and the Protestants, and Half of them be as a Proof of the King's Intention, be immediately conferred upon Papists.

To these Demands they added another of  
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the Repeal not only of the penal Laws made against Papists, by Protestant Princes, but of the Statutes of *Edward* the Third, and *Richard* the Second, by which some Restraint was laid upon them, and in general accumulated one wild Proposal upon another, till they had almost buried the Beginnings of the Treaty.

The King, who could grant but a very small Part of their Demands, was yet obliged by his Distresses to enlarge his former Grants, and the Lieutenant proposed many Expedients for their Satisfaction, which, though they were perhaps the best that could be suggested, were yet not always sufficient to give Satisfaction to Men, who had learned by long Tergiversation, to put off the Conclusion of the Treaty from Time to Time, in hopes of new Opportunities to encroach upon the Constitution, and who were so much elated by their Superiority, that scarcely any thing could content them that was less than their Wishes: much Time was therefore spent in Debates, about Articles which were probably not by these Disputes either better understood, or adjusted more to general Satisfaction. Other Obstacles were likewise raised, by the rash and injudicious Conduct of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who is accused of great Breaches of Trust and Fidelity, though by some acquitted of any ill Designs, and believed to have designed to make his Way through all his Mazes of Fraud to Peace, and to have intended the Advantage of his King, and the  
Happi-

Happiness of *Ireland*, though he prosecuted his Designs by unwarrantable Means.

Another Hindrance of the Peace was produced, by the Arrival of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, who came about this Time with small Supplies, and with large Promises; and who undoubtedly employed all the Authority of his Office to hinder the Conclusion of a Peace, while the highest Demands of the Church were unsatisfied. At length however, by the unwearied Endeavours of the Marquis of *Ormonde*, the Peace was concluded, without any Concessions disadvantageous to the Protestant Religion, or derogatory from the Honour of the King. The Papists were to obtain an equal Share of the Honours and Profits of the Government, and to be set free from several Grievances of which they complained, and were in Return, to supply the King with ten thousand Foot, to be landed in *England*, at Times particularly mentioned; nor was the Treaty to be ratified, or to have any Effect, till the Forces were sent.

But this Treaty was now too late to afford the King any Assistance, for his Defeat at *Naseby* had given his active Enemies such insuperable Advantages, that his Garrisons were every where forced, and his Forces obliged to retire; so that having now no longer any Hope of Victory, his only Care was now to make the best Provision for his Security, while Terms might be settled with the Conquerors; so that  
having

having no Forces to join the *Irish*, and *Fairfax* being in Possession of the Western Coast, ten thousand Men would have been of little Use to him, since they must have been soon overborn by a greater Number ; but he desired that about three Thousand might be sent into *North Wales*, by whom the Mountains might be for a Time defended, and Part of the Coast kept open. This Request was however not granted, and the King received scarce any considerable Advantage from the Peace.

The Nuncio in a short Time had so much extended his Influence, that the Clergy were inclined to second him in all his Measures, and *Owen Oneile*, either from Zeal for the Popish Religion, or Hopes of aggrandizing himself, declared in Favour of the Nuncio, in Opposition to the Supreme Council. The Council now found themselves unable to confirm the Peace which they negotiated, or to take the Weapons out of the Hands to which they had entrusted them, and could only protest against the Usurpations of the Clergy, and the Disobedience of the Army, without any Power to punish or to resist ; for *Preston*, from whose Troops they expected Assistance, was perswaded to join *Oneile*. Thus was the Government taken equally out of the Hands of the Lord Lieutenant, and of the Confederates, and placed in those of the Clergy, who exercised it without any Limits over a bigotted Nation.

The Lord Lieutenant, however, did not forget any Part of his Duty, but endeavoured  
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to promote the Reception of the Peace, by taking Care that it should be regularly published through the Kingdom. He therefore dispatch'd a Herald to the principal Cities, to proclaim it in the due Form, which was done in some Places with great Satisfaction to the People, but was in others so ill received, that the Magistrates refused to assist at the Proclamation, and as the Herald was proclaiming it in one Town, the People rose, at the Instigation of the Ecclesiastics, and drove him out of the Place, having given him several Wounds, and being with Difficulty restrained from farther Violence, as well against the Herald, as the Mayor who protected him.

The Marquis of *Ormonde*, in order to the Promotion of the King's Interest, and the Reconciliation of the confederate *Irish*, marched with a small Force to *Kilkenny*, where he was received with great Respect by the supreme Council, as Governor of the Kingdom, and from thence he proceeded into the remoter Parts of the Island, but had not continued his Progress far, before he received Intelligence of a Design laid by *Oneile*, to surprize him, and to force him to consent to a new Peace upon other Terms. *Oneile* was to be assisted by *Preston*, and both were endeavouring, in the most secret Manner, to direct the March of their Forces so, as to intercept the Lieutenant in his Progress: Of this Design he received such Accounts as he could not distrust, and therefore returned to *Dublin* with the utmost  
Caution



Caution and Expedition, his Waggon's being plunder'd at *Kilkenny*, and his Plate, and other Things of Value taken away.

The Nuncio now found himself Master of the Field, and that his Designs might be no longer obstructed, led his Army to *Kilkenny*, and imprisoned the supreme Council, which he had found not sufficiently disposed to comply with his Proposals. That the Government might be carried on, he summoned an Assembly of the Clergy, who invested themselves with the Authority which they had taken from the Council, and assumed the unlimited Direction of temporal as well as spiritual Affairs. They were now at the Height of Prosperity, and endeavour to extend their Authority to the utmost Boundaries of the Kingdom, determined to put an End to the Lieutenant's Authority, and ordered their Forces to besiege *Dublin*. The two Bodies of Men under *O-neile* and *Preston* did not wholly trust, or very diligently assist each other, and there was some Prospect of a Treaty with *Preston*, for an Union with the Lord Lieutenant against *O-neile*, but *Preston* was a Man so little steady, and the *Irish* Confederates had so little Fidelity, that Nothing was to be trusted to their Honour or their Oaths, and therefore the Marquis would not put the last Remains of the Protestant Power into their Hands, but resolved to sustain a Siege in *Dublin*, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the Marchioness and Ladies having, to encourage the Workmen

men and Inhabitants carried Baskets of Mould to form the Trenches.

But though Fortifications might be built, Provision could not be procured in an exhausted Country; and therefore his Enemies, who were well acquainted with his Distress, had nothing more to provide against, than the Importation of Victuals, and they might reduce the Town without Batteries or Assaults; nor could he have avoided to fall into their Hands, without the Possibility of a Struggle for Victory, by any other Way, than that of delivering the City, and the Commission by which he governed the Kingdom, to the Powers then prevailing in *England*, to whom, the King had informed him, that he desired the Kingdom should, when it could be kept no longer, be resign'd, rather than to the *Irish*.

When the Commissioners, who were dispatch'd to treat with him for the Surrendry of the City, and of his Authority, arrived at *Dublin*, they likewise were inclined to impose such Conditions upon him, as the Distress to which they saw him reduced might oblige him to accept, but these he thought inconsistent with his Honour and his Duty, and therefore rejected their Offers, and suffered them to depart without any Agreement; but his Distress every Day increasing, and the Inhabitants of the Place growing discontented, he was at last constrained to yield, on such Terms as he could obtain, and on the 28th of *July* 1647 resigned the Sword of Authority, and departed from

from the Kingdom which he had defended with so much Fidelity, and governed with so much Wisdom. The Confederates durst no longer continue the Siege, but retired when the new Garrison was admitted, and return'd into the Country, where it was now necessary for them to unite, against a more furious and potent Enemy, and to provide for their Defence, by strengthening their Fortifications, and encreasing their Forces, ascertaining their Intelligence, and storing their Magazines. Those that had adher'd to the King and the Marquis, were now, without any Advantage from their Loyalty, being equally hated and suspected on every Side.

When the Marquis left *Dublin* in this forlorn and calamitous Condition, he could not forbear declaring with that Chearfulness which has been usually known to accompany great Minds, that he expected some Time to return in a State of Power and Prosperity of which there was not at that Time any Prospect, for the King was in the Hands of his most implacable Enemies, all his Forces were suppressed, and all his Garrisons surrender'd. The Marquis however, whose Ardour for the Service of his Master, did not depend upon Fortune, went to attend him at *Hampton-Court*, where he was then, as he himself termed it, an honourable Prisoner, his Friends not being yet excluded by Violence, though undoubtedly very much discountenanced. Here the Marquis was admitted to that Confidence which

Fidelity so long tried might justly expect, and when he offered to resign the Lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect so little, was told by the King, that he should keep his Commission to a Time of better Fortune; for that no other should have the Satisfaction of enjoying that Authority which he had used so well, though so unsuccessfully. The Lord Lieutenant then gave him an Account of the State of the Nation which he had left, and that his Conduct might be better understood presented a Memorial, most of which it is not improper to insert:

**N**otwithstanding your Majesty's Letter from *Newcastle*, forbidding any further Treaty with the *Irish*, and notwithstanding their having failed to send the Men conditioned for, without which, though it was questionable how I might have justified the doing thereof, your Majesty's Commands in that Point considered, yet I agreed to a Peace.

Soon after the Conclusion whereof, I had Notice of the Practices of the Nuncio and Clergy against the same, their excommunicating of all that should adhere to the Peace, their interdicting all Places where it was proclaimed, and forbidding, upon like Pains, the Collection, and Payment of Monies collected, to those formerly appointed thereto by their General Assembly. All which notwithstanding, to the end your Majesty might reap the Fruits of a Peace, I had so far adventured to

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conclude,



conclude, that I went to *Kilkenny*, being invited thither, and informed by divers, especially those of *Preston's* Party, that my Presence would soon remove the Causes, or suppress the Effects of the Clergy's Discontent. When I came to *Kilkenny*, I found those who had concluded the Peace with me (by Messengers from them, namely, Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*, and Mr. *Patrick Darcey*) treating with the Clergy at *Waterford*, under Colour of endeavouring to appease them; much Height and Heat there seemed to be betwixt them, and I really believe some of them were in earnest. But I easily discovered the Drift of others was, either to force me to confirm my Lord of *Glamorgan's* Conditions, or at least to engage myself in some new ones in Point of Religion. But considering how I was limited therein by your Majestie, and how endless their Demands would be, if I once gave way to any thing like to a new Treaty, I positively insisted upon their publick Faith, already engaged, and absolutely refused to entangle myself in a new Treaty with the Clergy. Yet I was content to assure them, that without your Majestie's Directions, I would not then dispossess them of the Churches then in their Possession, nor interrupt the Jurisdiction of their Clergy within the Quarters possessed by them; and that I would not understand any Directions from your Majestie in those Particulars to be yours, till your Majestie should be restored to a free Condition. And further,

that I would obey all such Commands as I should receive from your Majesty to their Advantage.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, and great Hopes were given me, that this Assurance would content them, so to bring me into the greater Security; the Nuntio, and his Party, sent for *Owen Oneile* to cut off my Retreat to *Dublin*, and to force me to their Terms; or (as by the Sequel is more probable) to destroy the small Party, of 1200 Foot and 200 Horse I had brought with me as Guards; which if they had effected, being the choice Men of the Army, *Dublin*, and other Garrisons rendering Obedience to your Majesty's Authority, would have been theirs with much Ease, when their united Forces should be drawn against them, as afterwards they were. Upon Notice of *Owen Oneile's* being invited by the Clergy, having Reason to be jealous of his Readiness to advance upon their Summons; for that he had not caused the Peace to be proclaimed in his Army, as General *Preston* had with great Solemnity done in his, I sent several Letters and Messages to General *Preston*, and to all I believed well-affected, urging them to draw together, for the making good of the Peace they had so chearfully received, and for the Preservation of themselves and their Country from the Rapine of the Northern Army, wherewith they had been acquainted. By some I was answered, that their Men were dispersed by their Excommunications; by others, that they had

had no Means to keep or draw them together; for that the Collectors, terrified with the Church Censures would pay them Nothing; and to this Effect was *Preston's* Answer also. Whereupon I sent to speak with him, in hope I might disabuse him, if any thing from the Clergy stuck with him: But he made his Excuse, pretending, and but pretending Sickness. Notwithstanding all these ill Signs, I yet determined all possible Ways to try what might be done, and with this Resolution went from *Kilkenny* to *Carrick*, and from thence towards *Castel*, where the Peace had been proclaimed. But when I was gotten within two or three Miles thereof, I met with a Letter from the Mayor, desiring me not to come thither, for that He and the Town were threatened, if they received me, to be utterly destroyed by the Northern Army, then within a Day's March of them. The Advance of that Force in Pursuit of me, the Lord *Dillon*, and others who met me that Day, gave me Notice of. I was then also advertised, that *Mac Thomas*, as they call him with the *Munster* Horse, declared for the Romish Clergy, was within some small Distance drawing towards me; and being thereof assured by the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and others, I quickly found myself forsaken of most of those who had received and proclaimed the Peace: And having not had, before that Time, so much as Intelligence of *Owen Oneile's* March, though his Way was close by *Preston*, I conceived it then high

Time to look back towards my small Party of Foot, which I had left near *Kilkenny*: and accordingly, that Night I sent them Orders to draw back towards *Dublin*, and having Myself marched all that Night, the next Day I quartered with the Horse five Miles short of them, at a Garrison then in your Majestie's Power. But having fresh Intelligence, that *Owen Ouncle* marched fast on the left Hand of us, a nearer Way towards *Dublin*, I hasten'd, and by long Marches came to *Dublin* on the 13th of *September*, having been forth about three Weeks. But neither, in my March going or coming, was there any Violence offered to the Country, nor was there any thing taken but what was paid for. When we were come to *Dublin*, my Lord *Digby* and I considered what was then to be done, and at last determined to make Application to the Parliament, upon Conditions, and for Reasons, to be otherwise imparted to your Majestie.

Not long after my Return to *Dublin*, I received Letters from Sir *Lucas Dillon*, and Doctor *Gerard Fennel*, (who were employed by the Clergy) giving an Account of their Negotiation and their Advices; which tending to a Forbearance of Acts of Hostility, I took hold of, and in my Answer did, in a Manner, beg a Cessation, to the end that Misunderstandings might be removed, and, if it were possible, the Peace might yet be settled. But to this Answer of mine, there was no Reply, nor so much as any Overture tending towards  
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a looking into the former Passages, or reconciling of Differences. But the next News I heard, was of their drawing Forces together, raising of new, and at length, of *Owen Oneile's* summoning your Majestie's Garrisons, taking some upon Conditions, and some by Force, and using great Cruelty to those resisting.

*Preston* was also drawing together his Forces, but yet used no Acts of Hostility. Whereupon I wrote Letters to them both, to know what was the End and Ground of their Proceedings; whereunto they severally returned me Answers, by which I could gather Nothing but Assurance, that they intended the taking of all your Majestie's Garrisons, and Destruction of your Majestie's Servant. And, though by Letters from Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, I had some Intimation of *Preston's* joining therein with *Owen Oneile*, I could not believe, however his tender Conscience might induce him not to help us, (though he was sufficiently engaged thereunto) that yet he would, contrary to so many Protestations, appear actively against us, and therefore expostulated the Matter with him, in the best, and least offensive Manner I could; which produced no other Answer, than certain extravagant and unreasonable Propositions, whereunto I nevertheless returned a reasonable Answer, desiring to be informed with whom I was to treat, and how they were authorized. Whereunto I never had any Reply, but instead thereof, had sad Assurances that they fell to destroying your

Majestie's Quarters, and at last to the block-  
ing up the City of *Dublin*, which for mere  
Want of Powder (whereof there was not in  
his Majesty's Stores fourteen Barrels) they had  
carried, if upon sending Commissioners to  
treat with the Parliament, according to what  
was resolved between my Lord *Digby* and me,  
we had not gotten about thirty Barrels from a  
Sea Captain then in the Bay of *Dublin*.  
Whilst *Preston* and *Owen Oneile* lay thus be-  
fore the City, there arrived Commissioners  
from both Houses of Parliament, with Power  
to treat, and with Supplies of Men, Money,  
and Victuals, which at such a Time, being in  
Want of Food and all Necessaries for Defence,  
and blocked up by two strong Armies (by  
whom we expected hourly to be assaulted)  
they thought I durst not refuse, upon what  
Conditions so ever offered; or if I did, that  
your Majestie's Army, and the Inhabitants of  
*Dublin* would rise against me. Yet they  
wanting your Majestie's Directions for deliver-  
ing unto them the Places under your Maje-  
stie's Authority, and refusing to succour us up-  
on any other Terms, the Treaty broke off,  
and they with their Men were sent away suf-  
ficiently displeased with me.

During the Abode of those Commissioners  
at *Dublin*, began the Treaty between my  
Lord of *Clanricarde* and General *Preston*, to-  
gether with his Officers; which, though I  
very much doubted, was drawn on, rather for  
fear of my Agreement with the aforesaid Com-  
missioners,

missioners, and to break off my Treaty with them, than out of any real Intention or Inclination to Peace and Quietness: Yet *Preston* and his Officers having so deeply and solemnly sworn to stand to the Peace, and be thenceforth obedient to your Majesty's Authority, I suffered myself to be perswaded to undertake and do all Things that by my Lord of *Clanricarde's* Engagement was expected from me, the receiving of a mastering Power of *Preston's* Men in your Majesty's Garrisons excepted; which by all means possible was endeavoured, though it was neither absolutely agreed to by my Lord of *Clanricarde*, nor by him prest to be assented unto. Which Presure of theirs in that Point, added to my Suspicion, that all their Professions were the Effects of a Contrivance between the Nuncio and *Preston*, to procure Entrance into, and the Mastery of *Dublin* (as since it hath appeared to be). Yet still I resolved to drive them to a Point, and being thereto invited by *Preston's* Agreement with, and Letters to my Lord of *Clanricarde*, I marched out in Hopes of the Conjunction of his Forces with those few I was able to draw forth, according to his Engagement. But being come within a Day's March of the Place assigned, I met with a Letter from *Preston*, to the Marquis of *Clanricarde* to this Effect, that his Officers not being Excommunication Proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's Party; and therefore he advised me to proceed no farther, but expect the

Issue

Issue of a General Assembly, that was to be at *Kilkenny* the 10th of *January* following, where he doubted not but things would be set right, by the Consent of the whole Kingdom, which would be much more for his Majesty's Service, than to attempt the forcing of a Peace upon those that were averse to it. Though I was little satisfied with that Disappointment, and feared that the Power the Clergy had to frustrate a Peace, concluded by Virtue of the best Authority, any Person in their Case could delegate, would rather increase than diminish, by the Time that was given them to work in; and though I could not apprehend how it could be possible for me in the mean time to maintain the Army, or when it should come to want, to keep off the Cry that would be raised, for a new Address to the Parliament, the *Irish* having so often deceived us: Yet, that they might be left without any Excuse, I resolved thorough all Difficulties and Hazards to expect the Issue of that Assembly. But for the Ease of our Quarters, which were so wasted by the Enemy's lying before *Dublin*, and the Destruction I was forced to make upon their Approach, that they were utterly unable to maintain the Half of that little Army. I drew out as many more to the Men I had with me, as made them in all about 1200 Foot, and 600 Horse, and with them march'd into their Quarters, where, notwithstanding their Provocations by several Breaches of Faith, aggravated by high and cruel Acts of Hostility,



ty, I suffered no Violence to be done upon any Man's Person or Goods, or any thing to be taken but necessary Provision of Meat and Drink; though during my Abroad in this friendly Manner amongst them, the Captain and Lieutenant of my Guard were barbarously murdered upon the Highway, having staid at a Town a little while after their Company was marched away, in Confidence of the good Affection professed by the Country. And tho' not only their new erected Council had proclaimed us Enemies, and commanded hot War to be made upon us, but, (which was more contrary to my Expectation) they had prevailed with *Preston* to disavow any Obligation upon him, by the Transaction with my Lord of *Clanricarde*; and at length, after all our Pains taken to make the Nobility and Gentry understand, how much the Honour and Security of their Nation was concerned, in the Vindication of their publick Faith, and in their Submissions to your Majesty's Authority. After all the Hopes we could desire, was given us by all the considerable Men of *English* Extraction, and by some well-affected of the *Irish* Descent; and after six Weeks patient Endurance, and very incommodious and hazardous Removals, from Place to Place, in the Depth of Winter, there came forth from the Assembly that strange Declaration that at once acquitted those that had concluded the Peace, as Men fully entrusted, and faithfully discharging that Trust; and yet declared the  
Peace

Peace so concluded to be void. Soon after came forth certain Propositions offered to them by their Clergy, which they approved of, and solemnly swore to insist upon them; which were such, as I well knew your Majesty would never consent unto upon any Consideration whatsoever. Here I humbly conceive your Majesty will judge there was a full Period to all our Hopes from the *Irish*.

And now your Majesty may please to understand, that upon the first Advancement of the Armies under *Preston* and *Owen Oneile's* leading to the City of *Dublin*, I applied Myself for Succour to the *Scots* in the North of *Ireland*, by whose Answer sent by one Captain *Cunningham*, both in writing and verbally, and also by the Papers that passed from the *Scots* Commissioners in *England*, and more particularly those said to be the Speeches of the Chancellor of *Scotland*, I conceived some Hopes, that possibly some Use might be made of them for the Preservation of your Majesty's Interest in *Ireland*. Whereunto to invite them, I employed my best Endeavours, by my Answers to *Cunningham*, and by sending soon after him Major *Scaflowe Gibson*, a Man of approved Faithfulness; but he returning to me with an unsatisfactory Answer to my Propositions, I instructed Sir *George Hamilton*, and sent him from *Dublin*, to attend your Majesty then (as I hoped) upon good Terms with your *Scottish* Subjects at *Newcastle*; and in his Way he was instructed to make Tryal  
once

once more of the Affections of the *Scots* Army. He began his Journey at the Time I was drawing forth upon *Preston's* Invitation; but through Sickness was forced to stay some Days at *Dundalk*; and during his Stay thereabouts, he desired a Meeting with Colonel *John Hamilton*, which being given him, he from him understood the Resolution taken by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and by their Army, to deliver your Majesty to the Houses of Parliament in *England*, and with a sad Assurance thereof, Sir *George* returned to me to *Trym*, where he found me, and the Party I had with me, in such Want of Provision, and so harraiss'd, that within a few Days, after having made some successless Inroads into the County of *Cavan*, for the gaining of Cattle, and hearing from your Majesty's Council at *Dublin*, that the Inhabitants there being brought to extreme Poverty, flatly refused longer to contribute towards the Support of the Army, I was forced to return to *Dublin*. Where, upon Consideration of our weak and desperate Condition, and of the Approach of the Spring, which would certainly bring some Enemy against us, it was unanimously resolved by all your Majesty's Council and Servants then there, that it was more for your Majesty's Honour and Service, and consequently more agreeable to your Pleasure, which we then had neither Means, nor Time to consult, to put *Dublin*, and all the Garrisons that remained in Obedience to your Majesty into the Hands of the two Houses

Houses of Parliament in *England*, than to suffer them to be taken by the *Irish*. And for this Opinion, some of the Reasons were: First, It was doubted it would give too much Advantage to those Calumnies that had been cast upon your Majestie, of too much favouring the Popish Religion, if all the Churches in the Quarters, yielding Obedience to your Majestie, should be given, or suffered to be taken, to the Use of that Religion; and the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, either totally suppressed, or at the best, be allowed by Connivance in Corners, a Favour not then afforded to any within the *Irish* Quarters.. Secondly, It was feared it might reflect on your Majestie's Honour, if those Servants and Subjects of yours, that had so constantly served you, and continued so to do, long after your Majesty had no one Place, that I can call to mind, holding for you in all your three Kingdoms, should at last be subjected to the Tyranny of those that then ruled amongst the *Irish*; from whom what Usage they were to expect, was plain by their frequent Perfidies, by the Usage of others of your Majestie's Party fallen into their Hands, and by their having given Rest to all Places and People holding for the Parliament, that they might bend the united Strength of their Part of the Kingdom against us, that only upheld your Majesty's Authority, that only had made, and kept about three Years Cessation with them, and that only offered them, nay, that went a begging



ging to them to their own Door with Peace. A third Reason was, upon Consideration of the Interest of your Majesty's Crown; wherein it, appeared in some Clearness to us, that if the Places we held for your Majestie were put into the Hands of the two Houses of Parliament, they would revert to your Majestie, when either by Treaty, or otherwise, you would recover your Rights in *England*; and that in all Probability without Expence of Treasure or Blood. But if they were given, or lost to the Confederates, it was to us very evident, that they would never be recovered by Treaty, your Majestie's known pious Resolution, and the exorbitant Expectations in Point of Religion considered; nor by Conquest, but after a long and chargeable War, wherein, how far they might be assisted by any foreign Prince that would believe his Affairs advanced or secured, by keeping your Majestie busied at home, fell likewise into Consideration.

The Marquis, though he had the Satisfaction of finding that his Endeavours, however unprosperous were well accepted, and that he still retained the Favour of his Sovereign, was yet by no Means in a State of Happiness or Safety. For he was not only afflicted with the Misfortunes of his Master, who was then visibly losing the little Influence and Respect which his Character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among those who now had  
I him

him in their Power ; but he was likewise himself harrassed with personal Difficulties, the Debts which he had contracted for the publick Service were now required to be discharged. Indeed he had by his Capitulation six Months to liquidate them : But 1648. this Term being very near expired, he made his Apprehensions, from them, the Pretext for going off privately, though the real Motives, were an Order from the Committee at *Derby-House*, dated *February 15*, requiring him to send them upon his Parole of Honour, and under his own Hand, an Assurance that he would not, during his Residence in *England*, do any Thing in Dis-service of the Parliament ; and he had no Inclination to be served with this Order ; he was also sensible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted no Pretence to seize upon his Person, for which he had been advised a Warrant was actually issued ; it was therefore prudent to provide for his King's Interest, by securing his own Liberty : and crossing the Country from *Acton*, about ten Miles distant from *Bristol*, where he had fixed his Residence the better to carry on the Correspondence he had entered into with the Lord *Inchiquin*, took shipping at *Hastings* in *Suffex*, landed at *Diepe*, and went to pay his Duty to the Queen and Prince at *Paris* ; where he corresponded with the Earls of *Loudon*, *Lauderdale* and *Lanerick* in *Scotland*, by the Means of Sir *J. Hamilton* ; and by the Inter-  
vention

vention of Colonel *John Barry* kept up, in *Ireland*, the Correspondence he had before settled with Lord *Inchiquin*, who sincerely affected to Monarchy and the *English* Constitution, was resolved at all Hazards, seeing the Independents taking large Strides toward the Murder of the King, and Depression of the Nobility, to serve and restore his Majesty.

The *Marquiss* had not been long at *Paris* before Agents, deputed from the General Assembly, arrived there, from *Ireland*, to the Queen and Prince to treat of a Peace, as the only Expedient to save the Kingdom. The *Marquiss* was consulted, and gave his Opinion, on the Demands they brought, and the Method necessary to be followed to promote his Majesty's Interest to which 'twas thought the *Marquiss* might greatly contribute by his Return thither, and he not only designed it, but made what Provision he was able, to that End, equally wished and urged by the Well-affected among the Confederates, and by the Lord *Inchiquin* on whom they chiefly depended; but it was necessary, previously, to reconcile some Animosities between him, *Inchiquin*, and Lord *Broghill*, General of the Horse, which if not removed might greatly obstruct the Measures of the former, notwithstanding they had equally his Majesty's Interests at Heart; wherefore he thought it absolutely necessary to reconcile these two, that they might unite in the Support of the Royal Cause. having been assured of *Inchiquin's* Resolution,

he endeavoured, even before he left *England*, to engage *Brogbill* in, and found *him* as ready as he could have wished to enter upon, so glorious an Enterprize; nay he found his Lordship, generous enough to make his Resentments give Place to the Royal Service, and willing to be the first in his Advances to a Reconciliation with *Inchiquin*, which was extremely well received by the *Queen* and *Prince*; but the *Parliament* of *England* altering their proposed Measures, render'd abortive the Views of the *Marquis* and these Noblemen.

The *Maquifs's* Return to *Ireland*, being, as Affairs then stood, the only Method could be taken to save the Kingdom made him very importunate with the *French* Court for the necessary Supplies; but he was long delay'd, and at length was put off with such a trifling Sum, that it was consumed in Necessaries for the Voyage and the Subsistence of his Attendants, before he could get his Dispatches from *St. Germain's*, and embark for *Ireland*. However he arrived in that Kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by *Inchiquin*, landing at *Cork*, the twenty-ninth of *September* one thousand six hundred forty-eight, with no more than thirty *French Pistoles* for his military Chest, far short of six thousand Pounds, which Lord *Inchiquin* had marked as a Sum absolutely necessary to provide for the Support of his Forces, and to keep their Affections entire to his Majesty's Service, whose Hopes of Relief



Relief, then under great Strieghts, were founded on his Arrival.

The *Marquis* had no Power but from the *Queen* and *Prince* to conclude a Peace with the *Irish*; but this, however, he got ratified by the King, then Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, and with this Ratification, which was by Letter only, he received his Majesty's Commands to disobey all publick Orders, which he should give him, while under Restraint.

The uniting *Ireland* in his Majesty's Interests, was the only visible Means to save his Life, and the only proposed End of the *Marquis's* Return to that Kingdom; with this View he published a Declaration the Sixth of *October*, "in which he mentions his having  
 " delivered up *Dublin* to the Parliament,  
 " with his Reasons for so doing; he declares,  
 " that he deems it his Duty to use his Endeavours to recover his Majesty's Rights, and  
 " observes, that the Protestant Army in *Munster*, having manifested their Integrity to  
 " the King's Person and Right, and disclaimed all Obedience to the Enemies of both,  
 " was esteemed by the King as an eminent  
 " and seasonable Expression of their Loyalty.  
 " in Testimony of such his Sentiments his  
 " Majesty had commanded him to repair to  
 " that Province, to discharge the Duty of his  
 " Place: that he had resolved publickly to  
 " evince not only his Approbation of that  
 " Army's Proceedings, but his own Resolu-  
 " tion

" tion in the same Particulars; that he would  
 " employ his utmost Endeavours for settling  
 " the Protestant Religion, for defending the  
 " King in his Prerogatives, for maintaining  
 " the Privileges and Freedom of Parliament  
 " and the Liberty of the Subject. He de-  
 " clares he will at the Hazard of his Life,  
 " oppose all Rebels who shall refuse Obe-  
 " dience to his Majesty, on the Terms he  
 " shall require it, and endeavour the Suppres-  
 " sion of the Independents. That to prevent  
 " all Distrust from former Differences he  
 " declares himself fully authorised to assure  
 " them that no Distinction shall be made on  
 " any such Account, but that all who engaged  
 " in the Cause should be treated with equal  
 " Regard and Favour; that the past should  
 " be forgot, and he would use his utmost Di-  
 " ligence to provide for their Subsistence, and  
 " do them all the good Offices in his Power,  
 " requiring no other Return than their Perse-  
 " verance, &c."

The *Marquis*, tho' unassisted, entered up-  
 on the Treaty of Peace with the Confederates,  
 and after having, with indefatigable Zeal, un-  
 wearied Diligence, Labour, and exemplary  
 steady Loyalty, surmounted many Difficulties,  
 it was at length concluded; but not till some  
 Days preceding that execrable Parricide was  
 perpetrated, which we have no great Reason  
 to flatter ourselves, is as yet attoned, since  
 we have among us Men, who publickly and  
 with Impunity, avow the horrid Principles of  
 these

these detestable Regicides ; and we may justly apprehend, that while a *Crime* of so *black a Die*, as has fixed an indelible Stain upon the Nation, is not only unrepented, but gloried in, and the very Day set apart by the Government for deprecating the Wrath of God shall be made a Festival, a Day of Rejoicing, for the most monstrous, the most impious, the most unnatural Act that ever Nation was guilty of, and the ridiculing the Memory and Sufferings of the most moderate, the most pious, and most exemplary Prince that ever adorned the *British* Diadem, That the Hand of God is yet upon us ; or, what is more terrible, that he has left us to ourselves : And if we are in this miserable Situation, it will be nothing wonderful if we are blind to our Interests, or that Objects appearing, to our infatuated Eyes, the Reverse of what they are, we seek and pursue our Destruction, while we think we are wisely providing for our Happiness : but the Reverend Mr. *Carte's* just Reflections, on the Judgments on this Nation, in Consequence of that horrid Murther, put here an End to mine.

The *Marquis* was inexpressibly grieved when he received an Account of the King's Murder tho' it was what he had long foreseen, as knowing his Enemies capable of the most enormous Crimes. He immediately caused the Prince to be proclaimed in all the Towns which were subject to Royal Authority.

The *Marquis* had many and very great Difficulties to struggle with, arising from ambitious Pretensions, in which it was impossible to please all, consequently, the  
1649. Disappointed were also the Discontented: beside the *Roman* Clergy endeavoured to inflame the Minds of the People, and *Owen O'Neile*, who commanded a Body of five thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, of the best and most experienced of the *Irish* Forces, would upon no Terms, but his own, which the obstinate *Irish* Commissioners could not be induced to comply with, listen to any Accommodation, hoping to make good Conditions with the Independents in *England*, with whom a Negotiation was carrying on by the *Abbé Crelly*, and the Intervention of the *Spanish* Ambassador, *O'Neile* designing to quit *Ireland*, and enter into that Service. Add to these Obstructions to the King's Service, the Avarice and Partiality to Friends of the Commissioners for raising Money in the Country; the great Want of that, and Provisions, and the Confederates reducing a great Number of Forces, under Pretence that the Provinces could not pay them, and these Men going over to, an enlisting with, *O'Neile*, it is easy, without enumerating more, to judge the perplexing Situation of the *Marquis*. There was one Remedy to all these Evils, the Presence of the King, which he advised and earnestly pressed, both when he was Prince, and after the Murder

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der of his Royal Father, as it would have strengthened his Party by the Accession of O'Neile's, and if not all, of the greater Part of Jones's Army; have put an End to many troublesome Pretensions, and have united the Kingdom in his Service, which was obstructed by even those who were sent to assist the *Marquis*, and who through Envy to him, Avarice, Indolence, Pride, or concealed Views, slighted his Advice, and rendered the Aid he had expected from the Fleet altogether vain, tho' it might have been of the most signal Service in distressing the Enemy and reducing the whole Kingdom.

His *Majesty* convinced by the Strength of his Excellency's Arguments, resolved upon following his Advice and passing over into *Ireland*, but was frustrated in his Design by the *Scots* Commissioners who were sent from the Convention in *Scotland* to him, in *Holland*, with most insolent Propositions, and by the mean Artifice of the Deputies of the States, who warmly espoused their Cause.

The *Marquis*, left alone to struggle with innumerable Difficulties, was not however discouraged, but like the *Quick-silver* in the *Tube* of a *Barometer*, which rises in Proportion to the Weight of the *Atmosphere*, his Spirits seemed to rise in Proportion to the Difficulties he had to encounter; for with a small Army, without Money, without Provisions, but not without Disgusts, among themselves, not entirely to be depended upon,  
and

and at the same time advised of a Design to assassinate him, he meditated a Design upon *Dublin*, which might have been easily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous for his Majesty's Service. The taking this City would undoubtedly have been the Reduction of the whole Kingdom, and might probably have been the Means of wresting out of the Possession of the Usurpers those of *England* and *Scotland*: but we deserved more the *heavy Wrath* of God than we merited so signal a Blessing; Heaven cursed us in the Success we wished; the Prosperity which we pray'd for, was indeed a Scourge of Scorpions, and we became as wretched at Home as we were contemptible Abroad, by the Completion of our Desires, till our Miseries opened our Eyes to our Sins and Follies, and convinced us, that returning to our Duty, was the only Way to prevent our total Destruction, we having, deluded with the empty Sound of Religion, Liberty, and Property, fought and made our Kingdom in a manner desolate to establish *Hypocrisy*, to render our Possessions precarious, and to become Slaves of the very Dregs of the People.

The *Marquis* being obliged to raise the Blockade of *Dublin*, by *Cromwel's* having landed there with *Forces*, *Money* and *Provisions*, and by the *Death* of *O'Neile*, with whom he was in *Treaty*, and had gained over to his Majesty's Interest, broke the Measures of his Excellency, and changed his Situation from

an offensive to a defensive War. He was at the same time destitute of Money, and Provision to keep his Troops together, and by his Authority being greatly clogged by that of the Commissioners co-ordinate, of the Confederates, without whose Concurrence he could do nothing among the *Irish*. Being thus cramp'd in Power, he again thought the King's Presence absolutely necessary, as that of the Co-ordinates was then to cease. Notwithstanding the *Marquis* had written to his Majesty "to wait the Success of his Attempt upon  
" *Dublin*, tho' there was no apparent Danger for the King's Person." But his Majesty having sent to the *Marquis* for a State of Affairs in *Ireland*, and for his Opinion as to his going thither, at the same time sending him the Garter, tho' by his Answer he gave his Majesty a melancholy Account of the Situation of that Kingdom, yet he urged his Coming into it, for which he gave his Reasons: but before his Letter reached *Jersey*, where the King then was, the *Scottish* Policy had removed from about his Person, by the specious Pretences of his Service, his ablest Counsellors, and his Majesty's deviating from his former Resolutions agreed to the *Scot's* Propositions of like Tenor, with those he had rejected in *Holland*, and was prevailed upon to desert his Father's and his own best Friends, and bring a Stain on his Reputation, when he had, in a manner, nothing else to depend upon; and by playing the *Hypocrite*, destroyed

ed that Confidence so essentially necessary to the *Honour* and *Interests* of a *Prince* that his Subjects should repose in his Character.

The *Marquis* having long and patiently wrestled with Avarice, Obstinacy, irremovable Jealousies, and Animosities, Treachery, Discontents, villainous Forgeries, Want of all Necessaries for Support or for War, abstracted Interests, Confusion, insuperable Distrusts, Corruption, Negligence, Cowardice, Defection, Dejection, Stupidity, Contempt of, and Disobedience to, Authority, personal Neglect and Ambition, which last possessing the Hearts of those who were sent to assist in his Majesty's Affairs, occasioned their entire Ruin; while the Usurpers wanted nothing necessary to push on their Conquests, to make Acquisitions as well by Bribery, as by their Arms, and found Traitors as ready to receive as they were to give. The *Marquis*, I say, having with unparalleled Resolution and Constancy struggled against such a sweeping Torrent, which had collected the Streams of every obstructive Evil, finding all Endeavours vain; hopeless of preserving the King-  
1650. dom in his Majesty's Obedience, and, at the same time, anxious for his own Character, as knowing Censure was the inseparable Attendant on Disasters however unavoidable, entreated his Majesty to recal him, and obtained his Consent to withdraw: but yet would not, disagreeable as was his Situation, and insincere as he found the Bishops, whom



whom he convened to consult on the distracted State of the Nation, prefer his own Quiet to his Majesty's Interests, and leave the Kingdom, while he had the least Probability, on which he could ground any Hope of its Preservation, the only Point he had in View, and which engrossed his whole Attention, but which the Power and Refractoriness of the Clergy; the absolute and insuperable Obstinacy of *Limerick* and *Galway*, the former having received Propositions and listened to Overtures from the Rebels, without his Consent, or even Knowledge, made it impossible, for him to accomplish; even, either to gather, or keep together an Army, or prevent his being enclosed by the Enemy, and with all who withstood them, be given into their Hands by Treachery. He had no longer the least Hopes of Success, and consequently his longer Stay in *Ireland*, could no way be of Service to his Majesty's Interest, if not by preventing the different Parties from making Terms with the Enemy, and farther his Majesty's Designs to attack *England* with a *Scotish* Army, by causing some Diversion in *Ireland*; these Considerations were however sufficient to prevail on him not to quit the Kingdom, till it was absolutely impossible for him to contribute any Thing to the keeping it in Obedience to his Majesty, notwithstanding the groundless and incredible Aspersions cast on him, by the Clergy, who at length rejected the King's Authority, and insisted  
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on his Lieutenant's quitting the Kingdom; nay, to such a Heighth of Presumption did they arrive, that they sent him a Message desiring him to leave *Ireland* without Delay; to which, his Loyalty, prevailed on him to return a mild Answer, tho' he had vainly appointed them to meet and confer with him, and they had replied by a Declaration *against continuing* of his Majesty's Authority in the Lord Lieutenant; excommunicating all that should adhere to, assist, support, give, him Intelligence, or obey his Commands: their Design being to throw off the *English* Government, and to subject *Ireland* to some *foreign Roman catholick Power*. His last Effort for the King's Service was the Calling a General Assembly at *Logreah*, in which he acquainted them with his Design of departing, requiring them to consider on the most probable Means of preserving the Kingdom from utter Ruin. Having the King's Permission, and being again requested by the Clergy, he put to Sea on the Eleventh of *December*, and in about three Weeks, after a tempestuous Voyage, landed at *Peroſe* in *Basse Bretagne* leaving the Marquis of *Clanricarde* Deputy of the Kingdom, of the Affairs of which it is foreign to

1651. my Design to take any farther Notice than as they coincide with what relates to the *Marquis*, who having landed in *France* in the Beginning of *January*, one thousand six hundred fifty-one, after few Days Stay with his Family at *Caen*, went on  
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the Twenty-first to pay his Duty to the *Queen* at *Paris*, and acquaint her Majesty with the State of Affairs in *Ireland*; which having done he returned to his Family, where he continued till the latter End of *June*. He made a second Journey to *Paris* to wait on the *Duke of York*, he there remained a Month, the *Duke* requiring his Assistance in settling and proportioning the Expence of his Family to his small Pension of *four thousand Pistoles* a Year allowed him by the Court of *France*. This being done, he again visited and staid with his Family, till his Majesty 1652. escaped from the Battle of *Worcester*, and from the Pursuit and narrow Search made for him, returned to *Paris*.

The *Marquis* was reduced at this Time to very great Streights, being obliged to board himself at a *Pistole* a Week; to walk on Foot, which is not very reputable at *Paris*, and his Family not able longer to subsist in *Caen*: For the Pension granted to his Majesty not exceeding *six thousand Pistoles*, barely sufficed for his own Table, consequently, there was nothing to be expected for his Servants. These Circumstances made it necessary for the Support of the *Marquis's* Family that the Marchioness should go over to 1653. *England*, and solicit the Parliament for an Allowance out of her own hereditary Estate. She at length obtained an Order of Parliament to authorise the Commissioners for *Irish* Affairs to set apart, for a Provision for her

her and her Children, the clear yearly Value of two thousand Pounds out of her own Inheritance, with *Donemore*-House, near *Kilkenny*, for her Abode, where she continued, and never saw her Lord till after the King's Restoration. The *Marquis* attended his Majesty at *Paris*, till the Treaty between the Court of *France* and *Cromwell* made the King's Departure from that Kingdom indispensably necessary; wherefore having obtained of the Cardinal *Mazarine* barely sufficient to pay his Debts, and defray the Expences of his Journey, he set out from *Paris* 1655. for *Spaa*, where meeting his Sister the *Princess* of *Orange*, they went together to *Aix la Chapelle*, and after a Month's Stay in that Town his Majesty, attended by the *Marquis*, who had never quitted him, went to *Cologne*; but hardly had he been here three Months, before he was ordered back to *Paris* to wait on the *Duke* of *Glocester*, from thence to *Cologne*, *Cromwell* having at the latter End of the Year one thousand six hundred and fifty-two, permitted his *Royal Highness* to depart *England*. After having conducted the *Duke* to the *King* he was ordered to the *Hague* to attend the *Princess* Royal to his Majesty. The *Marquis*, early in the Spring, was sent to the *Duke* of *Newburg* to engage him to employ his Interest at the Court of *Brussels*, to engage their espousing his Majesty's Cause, and for promoting a Treaty of Alliance between the King of *Edgland* and the King



King of *Spain*, that *Duke* being in perfect *Amity* with the *Spaniards*, and desirous to serve the King of *England*. He however for very substantial Reasons, thought any Overtures of this Nature, might, at that Juncture, rather prejudice than advance his Majesty's Interests.

The Peace concluded between *France* and *Cromwell*, another between him 1656. and *Portugal*, and the taking *Jamaica* made it the Interest of the *Spanish* Court to distress *Cromwell*, as much as possible; but notwithstanding the above Treaty had been entered upon, it went on very slowly, and his Majesty, till the Arrival of *Don John*, obtained no more than the Permission of residing *incognito* at *Bruges*; and a Promise of the Assistance of 6000 Men, with a Quantity of Arms and Ammunition to make a Descent, when he should be Master of a good *Port* in *England*. With *Don John* he entered into a new Treaty, which afforded him an immediate Support of 3000 Crowns a Month. His Majesty lost no Time in removing into *Flanders*, and from thence sent for the *Duke of York* to come to him to *Bruges*, which Command his Royal Highness obey'd, having before he set out engaged some of the chief *Irish* Officers, then in the *French* Service. His Majesty formed five or six Regiments of such of his Subjects as were then in the *Spanish* Service, and of those who had left that of the *French*, which were by much the greater

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Number, and mostly *Irish*. The *Marquis* had the Command of one of these Regiments.

The *Marquis* in the Beginning of this Year, being employ'd by the King to *Don John*, he receiv'd also an Order from him, to signify on all proper Opportunities to his Subjects, in the *French Service*, that his Majesty had present Occasion to employ them in his own. An Event of War gave the *Marquis* an Opportunity to follow these Instructions, and the Pleasure to see their wished for Effects: to evince the little Dependence there is on Treaties with the *French*, and to mortify, and expose *Cardinal Mazarine*, who was guilty of a Falstity to serve a Turn. But this Affair cannot be set in a clearer Light, than the *Marquis* himself has placed it, wherefore I shall give it in his Words, in a Letter to *Oliver Darcy*, titular *Bishop of Dromore*, to whom the *Cardinal* had made a false Representation of Facts, and aspers'd the *Marquis*.

“ *His Majesty*, about the Be-  
Sept. 1656. “ *ginning of August*, thought fit

“ to employ me about some Af-  
“ fairs of his, to *his Highness Don Juan*, and  
“ among other Things, gave me Order, upon  
“ all fitting Opportunities, to signify to any  
“ of his Subjects in the *French Service*, that  
“ his Majesty had present Use for them in his;  
“ and to require them to march to such Pla-  
“ ces as I should direct them. In pursuance  
“ of this Order, upon the rendring of *Conde*,  
“ I made the King's Pleasure known to Col.

“ *Muskrery*,

“ *Muskerry*, and *Sir James Darcy*; who there-  
 “ upon, expressed all possible Duty to his  
 “ Majesty, and all Readiness, to obey his  
 “ Commands, as his most loyal and obe-  
 “ dient Subjects; but they desired, in Per-  
 “ formance of that Duty, to have Liberty to  
 “ provide for their Honour, by demanding  
 “ their *Dismission*, from his most Christian Ma-  
 “ jesty; which they conceived could not be  
 “ deny’d them, Provision having been made  
 “ in their Capitulation for it, and for a  
 “ Months Pay for the Officers and Soldiers,  
 “ at parting. I confess, I neither was, nor  
 “ nor am yet satisfy’d, that there was a Ne-  
 “ cessity for this Formality, (their own King’s  
 “ Command interposing, and extending no  
 “ farther than to come and serve under his  
 “ Commissions, and by his Orders, and no  
 “ other) but that they might very well dis-  
 “ pence with the demanding of Passports, if they  
 “ would quit their Pretensions to a Months  
 “ Pay, and as they might reasonably suspect  
 “ they would be broken with, in this, as they  
 “ have been in other Particulars, equally ca-  
 “ pitulated for them.”

“ Yet their persisting in their Belief, it was  
 “ necessary, and engaging their Honours to  
 “ me, to demand their Passports, and in case  
 “ they should be either refused or granted,  
 “ to do what became them in Allegiance; I  
 “ made no Attempt to draw their Officers or  
 “ Men from them, and this is what has hi-  
 “ therto past in this Matter; except that I

“ am lately assured, that *Muskerry* hath de-  
“ manded his Pass, but with what Success I  
“ cannot tell. However, I must conclude  
“ that his Eminence, when he says my Soli-  
“ citations have proved ineffectual, either was  
“ not well inform’d, or intended not so much  
“ your Information in the Truth of that Pas-  
“ sage, as to endeavour to corrupt the Offi-  
“ cers and Soldiers of the *Irish* Nation, where  
“ you are, and to dispose them to disobey  
“ their King’s Orders (when they should be  
“ sent them) by laying before them a feigned  
“ Example of Disobedience of others; which  
“ tho’ it had been true, ought rather to have  
“ been detested than imitated.

“ For what concerns the King, my Master’s  
“ good Treatment in *France*, and the Con-  
“ tinuance of a Monthly Assistance to him,  
“ from thence (urged by the *Cardinal*, to ar-  
“ gue his Majesty’s Ingratitude, or me of  
“ Indiscretion or Imposture) I shall not say  
“ more, than that his Majesty is well known  
“ to be of a Nature much more inclined to for-  
“ get Injuries than Benefits; and that it falls not  
“ within my Province, in his Affairs, to know  
“ when, or from whence he receives Money.  
“ But that my Proceedings at *Condé* were  
“ warranted and approved, will be evident to  
“ you, by the enclosed Copy of the Orders  
“ his Majesty sent to Colonel *Muskerry*, and  
“ Sir *James Darcy*, and by those which the  
“ Officers with you, may in due time receive.  
“ So that I cannot but wonder so great and  
“ wise



“ wise a Minister as his Eminence (to serve any  
 “ present Turn, how important soever) should  
 “ make use of such Artifices, as not only are  
 “ liable to present Detection and Refutation,  
 “ but are, in the last Degree, injurious to the  
 “ Honour and Reputation of a Servant, who  
 “ hath punctually observed, and not at all  
 “ exceeded his Master’s Commands. I think  
 “ I know what is due, from me, to the first  
 “ Minister of a great King; and I am sure,  
 “ there is no Man shall, upon all Occasions,  
 “ treat him with more Respect. But then I  
 “ expect to be treated also as a Gentleman,  
 “ and not to be charged with an indiscreet  
 “ Zeal, or with acting without warrant,  
 “ thro’ Partiality to the Service of the *Spaniard*,  
 “ and to the Dis-service of my Master, as I  
 “ am by his Eminence; to whom, as I owe  
 “ no Account of my Discretion, so I take  
 “ him always to be an incompetent Judge of  
 “ my Fidelity, and at this Time, no very  
 “ proper one, of what is good or bad for my  
 “ Master’s Service.

“ And since he hath been pleased to usurp  
 “ an Authority to judge and condemn me,  
 “ with Circumstances of Calumny, not u-  
 “ sually proceeding from the Minister of one  
 “ Prince, to the Servant of another, I con-  
 “ ceive he gives me just Ground to put you in  
 “ mind, that by his Ministrations, an Alliance  
 “ is made between *France*, and the Murther-  
 “ ers of a just and lawful King; and that not  
 “ only without any Necessity, but upon such

“ infamous Conditions, as no Necessity can  
 “ justify; I mean the banishing out of *France*  
 “ dispossess'd Princes, the Grand-children to  
 “ *Henry IV.* Add to this, that his Eminence  
 “ is the Instrument of such an Alliance, as  
 “ gives Countenance and Support to the U-  
 “ surpers of the Rights of Kings, and the  
 “ professed Persecutors of the Roman Catho-  
 “ licks, and the Destroyers of your Nation,  
 “ and to those by whom the Nobility and  
 “ Gentry of it are massacred at Home, and  
 “ led into Slavery, or driven to Beggary A-  
 “ broad, &c.

Young *Muskerry* on his Arrival at *Paris*,  
 demanded a Dismission for him and  
 1656. his Men; the *Cardinal*, with Un-  
 willingness, gave him a Pass, but  
 positively refused it for his Men; but they  
 however followed him into *Flanders*, to a  
 Man, and form'd a new Corps, called the  
 Duke of *York's* Regiment, commanded by  
*Muskerry*, as Lieutenant Colonel. The *Mar-*  
*quis* employ'd in the King's Affairs, passed  
 the Winter at *Brussels* in great Streights.

The King entertain'd some Hopes  
 1657. from his Treaty with the *Spaniards*,  
 which had rais'd those of his loyal  
 Subjects, who sent him several Messengers  
 to assure him of their Readiness to join him;  
 but *Don Juan*, who saw plainly by  
 1658. the Account he receiv'd, that a Person  
 of eminent Credit with the King, to  
 conduct the Design was wanting, would not  
 hazard

hazard the *Spanish* Forces. The *Marquis* in this Exigence of Affairs, generously offer'd to go to *England* in Disguise, and act in the Manner as should be most conducive to his Majesty's Interest, either as a Chief, or a Subaltern, and this Offer was, tho' with Reluctance, accepted by the King. He accordingly came over, but soon was convinced that all Hopes from the Cavaliers Zeal were built upon a sandy Foundation. The *Marquis* found an Aversion from the Government, which at that Time, however, possess'd all Parties; but such mutual Jealousies among one another, that an Intercourse was impracticable. In short, he returned with no other Fruit reap'd from the Danger to which he had expos'd himself, than the Certainty that all Hopes of any thing being done, by the Cavaliers, for his Majesty, were entirely vain; tho' the general Inclination to throw off the Yoke of the Usurper was so great, that had the King been supported by a foreign Force, his Lordship thought a Restoration would meet with but small Resistance. This made his Majesty solicit the *Spanish* Ministry, who flatter'd, but fail'd, his Expectations. The *Marquis*, in the Interim, stay'd at *Paris*, in almost as much Danger of Imprisonment there, as of Death in *London*; *Cromwell* having sent to the *Cardinal* to get him secured. The King deluded by the *Spaniards*, sent for the *Marquis* to attend him to

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*Brussels*,

*Brussels*, but as it was dangerous for him to pass any Part of the Frontiers towards *Flanders*, he rode to *Lyons*, from thence to *Geneva*; and passing thro' the *Palatinate*, went to *Dusseldorp*, and from thence to *Brussels*.

The King disgusted with the *Spanish* Ministers, who amused him with vain Hopes, withdrew from *Brussels* to *Hookstraten*. *Cromwell* being dead, and the *Dutch* seeming to take a favourable Turn, the *Marquis*, to forward his Master's Interest, which he hoped by such mean to strengthen, agreed to his Son's Marriage with *Emilia*, Daughter of *Lewis* of *Nassau*, Lord of *Beverweert*, natural Son of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, with a Fortune of only 10,000 *l*.

A Treaty of Peace being set on foot 1659. between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and the Conferences opened in an Island near *St. John de Luz*, the King went thither in Person, in Hopes of uniting the two Crowns in his Interests, and was attended by the *Marquis* of *Ormonde*. *Louis de Haro* Plenipotentiary of *Spain*, treated the King in a manner correspondent with his supreme Dignity, and was personally inclined to do him Service; but tho' he gave him Hopes of Succour from the *Spanish* Court, he let his Majesty know, that this was not to be expected till *Portugal* was again submitted to that Crown, a Conquest then extremely doubtful, and the Event has since proved they had vainly hoped. On the other Hand, the *Cardinal*,



*dinal*, for Reasons which his Fear and Jealousy suggested, having declined, or rather refused an Interview with the King, but consenting to a Conference with the *Marquis*, they had a private Meeting, which carried the Face of being rather accidental than designed; but it produced nothing favourable to his Majesty's Affairs, tho' it heightened, if that was possible, the Contempt and Aversion of the *Marquis* for that Pusillanimity and Insincerity of the *Cardinal*, of which he was too well convinced. The King's Hopes, having deceived him, four Days after the Conference between the *Cardinal* and the *Marquis*, which was on the 12th of *November*, he left *Fontarabie*, and attended by the *Marquis* and a few Servants, set out for *Paris*, and at *Colombe*, *December* 10, met the Queen his Mother, the *Marquis* having before disposed every thing for a perfect Reconciliation, and for this Interview, there having been a Coldness between them, on her Majesty's Attempts to pervert the Duke of *Glocester*.

His Majesty having certain Intelligence of the distracted State of Affairs 1660. in *England*, and the Readiness of his his Friends to take Arms for his Restoration, by a Memorial which the *Marquis* drew up, laid the same before the *Cardinal*, for Assistance; but he could not be prevailed upon to afford the King any whatever; no Agreements, nay, not the apparent Interest of *France*, and a Hint from *De Witt*, that whenever France should

should think fit to propose to Holland a Conjunction for restoring the King, they would be found well disposed, could prevail on his Eminence to depart from those Maxims which he had lain down, and give any Assistance towards restoring the King; as that would necessarily put an End to the Distractions of *England*, which as long as they subsisted, must afford great Advantages to *France*: beside, 'tis not improbable, but he apprehended the just Resentment of his Majesty, whenever he should be peaceably established in the Throne of his Ancestors, well knowing the Treatment he had met with in, and the scandalous Policy of, *France*, under his Administration, such as might provoke the keenest. For these Reasons, his Eminence when Monk, had got to *London*, and had overcome all Difficulties, he caused the *French* Ambassador in *England*, to propose to him the setting up for himself, promising him the whole Power of *France* for his Support. Soon after, the ineffectual Memorial which the *Marquis* had drawn for the *Cardinal*, he was sent to the *Hague* to confer with Sir *George Downing*, Resident there for *England*; from whence he had great Hopes given him of a speedy Restoration, which Monk sending a Tender of his Duty, and necessary Instructions to his Majesty, proved well grounded. Monk's whole Design being communicated to the *Marquis*, at length that great and happy Event was accomplished, and the *Marquis*, who had been a zealous, faith-

faithful, and indefatigable Follower of the royal Exiles, attended his Majesty in his Return to his undoubted, but long usurped, Rights.

His Majesty's trusty Servants could not but meet the Rewards due to the Merit of such a long Series of Adversity, with which, supported by their Loyalty, they had long struggled. The *Marquis* was sworn a Member of the Privy-Council, made Lord Steward of the Household; Lord-lieutenant of *Somersetshire*, High-steward of *Westminster*, *Kingston*, and *Bristol*, and restored to his Dignity of Chancellor of the University of *Dublin*; and there he restored also such Fellows, as had been ejected for their Loyalty. His Majesty gave back to him the County of *Tipperary*, together with the same Privileges and Regalities, which his Family had for some Centuries enjoy'd with the other. He was, after this, created Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron of *Lanthyony* in *England*, and by that Parliament restored to his whole Estate. The *Marquis* soon after the Restoration, found Means to do a considerable and acceptable Service to the *English* Families in *Ireland*, by preventing the Insertion of some Clauses in the Act of Indemnity, which must without them have proved their Ruin; he also solicited (and it was granted) for the Clergy the settling all impropriated and forfeited Tythes, in the King's Disposal, upon the respective Incumbents of the Parishes, in which they lay, and prevailed on his Majesty to fill the four

Arch-

Archbifhopricks and twelve epifcopal Sees, with the moft eminent among the Clergy: which was done in the Beginning of *Auguft*, a Work not to be delay'd, as the *Scots* and other Prefbyterians had lately gotten Poffeffion of Churches in and about *Dublin*, induftrioufly endeavouring to fubject the People to the Rules of the Covenant, governing themfelves in divine Service by the Directory, and had addreffed the King, on his landing, to eftablifh their Model, which they hoped for from the Intereft of their Friends in *England*. The *Marquis* reftored to the Chancellorfhip of the Univerfity of *Dublin*, was a vigilant, a juft and a generous Patron, neglected nothing that could raife its Character or conduce to its Intereft; for by his own, he chiefly, not only recovered their Land in *Kerry* and in other Parts of the Kingdom, but much improved their Revenues by new Grants from the Crown.

Notwithftanding the King had filled up the Sees, *Prefbyterians*, as the Bifhops could not be put into the Poffeffion of them till a new Great-feal was made, conceived Hopes of yet abolifhing Epifcopacy; and to this End promoted Petitions from the Adventurers and Officers of the Army, to continue the godly Minifters of the Gofpel, who had long labour'd among them: But the great Men, who at Court foli-cited the Caufe of the Adventurers, finding it vain to attack the Order of Bifhops and the Conftitution of the Church, endeavoured to deprive them of their Revenues,  
and



and thus reduce them to Indigence; the Harbinger of Contempt. They laboured to get taken from them all the Improvements of ecclesiastical Rents made during the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*; this occasioned an Address from the Lord Primate, and eight other Bishops, in which they represented, to the King, that it would reduce some Bishopricks to forty Shillings a Year, and the whole Order in *Ireland*, to Beggary. They transmitted their Address to the *Marquis*; he presented it to the King, who returned them a gracious Answer, with Assurances of taking Care to prevent the Diminution of their Revenue, and of his finding a Pleasure in any Opportunity to augment it: This Answer the *Marquis* remitted, with a Letter from himself, in which he thanks them for their Care of the Church; promises to co-operate with them in so good a Work; gives them Hopes of his Majesty's parting with his first Fruits, and assenting to other Advantages, for which, he tells them it will be needless to send an Agent, as he will be their Sollicitor; and indeed he was so *zealous* a one, that he procured them not only all the Grants they had required, but even more. This occasioned an Address of Thanks from *three Archbishops* and *eight Suffragans*, then at *Dublin*, in which they acknowledge the Benefit, the orthodox Clergy of *Ireland* had received from his Patronage, pray for his Family's Prosperity, and beg the Continuance of his Protection. And indeed

it

it was of signal Service to them, at that Time, his Majesty being often surprized into Grants of the very Impropriations, which he had before order'd to be given to the Clergy; which Grants, the *Marquis*, being Lord Lieutenant; not only stopp'd, but on Nov. 17, 1663, procured a Letter from the King, in which his Majesty signifies his Pleasure, that the Lord Lieutenant should suffer no Grant of Impropriation, in his Disposal, to pass to any Person by Virtue of any Warrant, Order, or Direction, obtain'd from him for the same. His Majesty also gave Order, that his Grant of Impropriations to the Clergy, should be confirm'd by an Act, and the Clergy of *Ireland* have ever since enjoyed these Benefactions, which their good Patron both procured for, and secured, to them.

The King, in Consideration of the *Marquis's* Services, made him very liberal Grants, and as his royal Father had, in 1642, convey'd to the *Marquis*, all the Right, Title and Interest, which the Crown had, or might have, to the Lands forfeited by the Rebellion of the Vassals of the said *Marquis*, his present Majesty confirm'd the same; of which Grant, had the *Marquis* taken the Benefit, it had been an immense Improvement of his Estate. The King's Letters-patent, which put him into the rest of his Estate, make honourable mention of his loyal and eminent Services. The Prisage of Wine, a Perquisite belonging to the *Marquis* and his Family, as Butler of *Ireland*,  
having

having been, during the Usurpation, charged with an Impost, the King order'd it to be taken off, which was accordingly done.

On *Feb.* 13th, the *Marquis* was joined with the Duke of *Albemarle*, 1661. and others, to determine the Claims usually enter'd at Coronations, Preparations being at that Time making for the King's. On *March* 30th, he was made Duke of *Ormond*, and about that time being created Lord High Steward of *England*, he assisted in that Capacity at the Coronation, *April* 23d, and carried *St. Edward's* Crown.

In the grand Affair of the Settlement of *Ireland*, the Duke was inclined to do all possible Service to the *Irish*, but as they not only rejected his Advice, but even fell foul on his Character, he resolved not to intermeddle in that Affair, and his Name appeared not in any one Committee to which it was refer'd, till after he was Lord Lieutenant; which Employment he accepted, after the Duke of *Albermarle* had declined it, on account of the jarring Interests of the different Parties. It was the Duke of *Ormonde's* entire Submission to the Will of his Master, prevailed on him to enter upon an Employment, the Inconveniences of which he well foresaw; and speaking of it to a Friend, said, *Beside many other unpleasant Difficulties, there are two Disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending Parties believing I owe them more Kindness and Protection, than I can find myself charge-*  
able

able with: And the other suspecting I retain that Prejudice to them, which I am as free from. This Temper in them, will be attended, undeniably, with Clamour and Scandal, upon my most equal and wary Deportment.

Four Days after the Duke of Ormonde was declared Lord Lieutenant, the Agents of the Parliament of *Ireland* had an Audience of the King, when the Bishop of *Elphin*, in the Name of the Lords, expressed their Joy at his Choice of a Person, of whom his Lordship gave the highest Encomia, and under whose Conduct, he said the Kingdom of *Ireland* could not but speedily flourish. Sir *A. Mer-*  
*vin*, in the Name of the Commons, also gave his Majesty Thanks, for having nam'd the Duke to be Lord Lieutenant; and the News was receiv'd in *Ireland* with publick Rejoicings.

The Parliament of *Ireland*, considering the great Losses the Duke had sustained, by his Services to the Crown, and the Expence which his Grace must necessarily run into, to support the Dignity of his Post, made him a Present of 30,000*l*.

The King's Marriage defer'd the Duke's Departure, for *Ireland*, to the Beginning of *July*, when he sat out from *London* and arrived in *Dublin* on the 27th of that Month, where he was splendidly receiv'd; and now all Things relating to the Government devolving upon him, what he had before seen, was soon verifi'd: For tho' he acted with the strictest Integrity and Impartiality, and kept his Majesty's



Majesty's Service, yet he could not avoid the Repentment of Numbers, who apply'd to him for what he could not grant, consistent with his Duty. Whence arose new Clamours, and his Administration was not only render'd uneasy to him, but the Course of his Majesty's Affairs was interrupted, by some who were favourably heard at Court.

The Act of Settlement and some others, were pass'd Sept. 27th, when he made an excellent Speech, extremely well adapted to promote a mutual Confidence and perfect Harmony between the King and his Subjects; which the two Houses desired might be printed. One of the first Things, to which the Duke apply'd himself, was the purging the Army by disbanding the *Anabaptists* and *Fanaticks*. The Exchequer being empty, he paid their Arrears out of his own Pocket, as it was a Service which admitted no Delay. The *Fanaticks* in *England*, who meditated a new Commonwealth, flatter'd themselves with the Assistance of these Forces and with the Concurrence of the *Presbyterians*, discontented by the Act of Uniformity; and the Resolution of the Parliament to support that Act, put the Sectaries upon making an Insurrection, hoping Strength from *Scotland*, but more from *Ireland*, to support their 1663. Attempts. Many of the *Irish*, were by the Court of Claims, to be re-possess'd of their Estates, which making the Adventurers and Soldiers every one for himself, Fear being

being thrust out of the Lands they enjoy'd, which occasion'd great Clamours against the Proceedings of that Court, and the Designs of the Government ; and some of the most furious Spirits, resolving, to keep by the Sword, what Estates they enjoy'd, readily embark'd with the *Fanatics*. An Insurrection was intended, a Conspiracy form'd, and a private Committee appointed for conducting the Affair ; but the whole was discover'd to the Duke. *Blood* was one of this Committee. But notwithstanding this Intelligence, the Duke owed his Preservation to his own Vigilance ; for the Day pitched upon to seize him, and surprize the Castle, was the 9th or 10th of *March*, of which he had Notice : but the Conspirators altering the Time, and fixing it on the 5th, his Informer was ignorant of the Change till near the Hour of its designed Execution. The Duke however, was on his Guard, of which the Traitors having had some Information, the Attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

The Defeat of the Design to surprize the Castle, put no Stop to the intended Insurrection ; but this also failed. The Duke had Intelligence of every Particular, the Heads of the Conspirators were secured, and some of them executed. *Blood* however escaped.

The Fears which many were in of being dispossess'd of the Estates they had gotten from the *Irish*, and the Soldiers being of the old Republican Leaven, ready to join in any seditious Design to subvert the Government,

required the Duke's constant Vigilance, and the utmost Precaution, as he had not yet thoroughly purged the Army, except that Part of it which lay near *Dublin*. As for the Troops quarter'd in the Provinces, they still required to be garbled; but where to get Men on whom he could depend, to replace those he should cashier, was the Difficulty; for when he wrote to the Duke of *Albermarle* for 500 Men from *England*, that Nobleman sent him Word, he had not such a Number in his whole Army, on whose Fidelity he could rely. But this was not the only Difficulty his Grace laboured under; he had no Money to pay the Forces, and the *Exchequer* in *England*, was at so low an Ebb, that the most pressing Instances could procure him none from thence; and 'tis well known, that in default of Pay, even in the most settled Times, 'tis difficult to prevent Mutiny among the Soldiers. This terrible Inconveniency, the Want of Money, was not likely to be remedied, as the *English* Parliament were in no agreeable Temper with the King, and would give him no Supply; and at the same time, the Hopes of bringing that Body into a more favourable Disposition, were banished by the Difference between his Majesty's Ministers, who should have united for his Service. The Duke had not only a rebellious, implacable, enthusiastic Body of Sectaries, endeavouring to poison the Nation with their Tenets, to keep under, but an Army com-

posed of a great Number of the same detestable Principles, consequently more likely to join them in, than repell any Act of Rebellion, to restrain within the Bounds of their Duty; and that too, without a Penny to pay even their just Demands. He had beside, the Resentment of a Secretary of State, of a favourite Mistress, and even of the Queen-Mother to combat; which he had drawn upon himself, by an insuperable Zeal for, and steady Adherence to, Truth, Justice, and his Master's real Interests, in which his constant Proceeding, he had, unhappily in one Particular especially which related to the Restitution of the *Marquis of Antrim's* Estate, not only disgusted the said *Marquis*, but brought on himself very unjust, as they were groundless, Reflections.

The Hardships and Difficulties the *Duke* laboured under for want of Money to pay the Forces, and his Apprehensions from a Body of Troops of their Stamp, were at length removed, by a Sum of Money remitted towards making them Satisfaction; by 500 Soldiers, sent from *England*, and a Draught made from the *Irish* Army, for the Service of *Portugal*.

In *May* his Majesty having sent for the *Duke*, he sat out for *London* leaving,  
 1664. by the King's Permission, his Son the Earl of *Osborn*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.  
 1665. The *Duke* at this Time gave remarkable Instances of publick Spirit, Equity,



quity, Honour, and Magnanimity in giving up, that he might facilitate and advance the Settlement of *Ireland*, about 30,000 Pounds a Year, for 50,000 Pounds; and by paying off the Securities he had given for Money taken up for his Majesty's Service; which Securities had been forfeited by the Creditors, to the Crown, and not only by it granted to his Grace, but also settled on him by an Act, as fully as the Crown enjoy'd the same. The Distress of these Creditors, tho' in Strictness of Law, they could make no Demand upon him, induced him to pay them before the Debts he owed for the same Service to Protestants, which amounted to 50,000 Pounds. These he proposed to pay out of that Sum, for which he had made the Cession of so large and indisputable an Estate in Land; but the long continued Disappointments in the Payment of that stipulated Money, involved him in heavier Debts and Difficulties, and laid the Foundation of those Incumbrances, which caused a Dissipation of the greater Part of the old Estate of the Family, for which generous Sacrifice made to the Quiet of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, he met with a very ungrateful Return.

His Grace sat out in *August* on his Return to *Ireland*, but being obliged to make some Stay on the Road he took, and stopping a Month at *Kilkenny*, he did not make his Entry into *Dublin* till the 17th of *October*, which was in a very grand Manner, and in

*September*, the Act of Explanation was passed; which must be attributed to the great Confidence, reposed by the Commons in the Duke's Sincerity; they relying on his single Word for the Defects, &c. objected to, being amended. By this Act were fix'd the general Rights of the several Interests in *Ireland*; but the carrying it into Execution with Impartiality, was an inexhaustible Fund of Care and Perplexity, and his unbiass'd Regard to Justice, a constant Ground for Resentment, Ill Will and Calumny.

His Grace, who made the Interest of *Ireland*, the Point, next to that of his royal Master, he had always kept in View, neglected no means to prevent the passing the Act, for prohibiting the Importation of *Irish* Cattle into *England*; and demonstrated by irrefragable Arguments, the pernicious Consequences which must attend it; and tho' it would more immediately affect *Ireland*, yet proved that it must, also, be very sensibly felt in *England*: But no Reasons could be heard where Clamour prevailed. The Bill was enacted, and *Ireland* thereby reduced to so much Misery, that the Kingdom was in a very dangerous Situation, exposed to the open Attempts of foreign, and the secret seditious Machinations of intestine, Enemies, who took the Advantage of the unhappy Condition of the distressed People; Poverty being a desperate Monitor to stir up Commotions. The Duke's Vigilance procured him Informations of the minutest Particulars

particulars of the Designs of the *Fanatics*, and his Prudence and Courage render'd those Designs abortive, surpriz'd the Mutineers, who began to make Demands 1665. with open Force, and effectually provided for the Defence of the Kingdom, against a threatned Invasion.

Notwithstanding the Duke's unquestionable Loyalty, his known Integrity, his Justice, and his visible Preference of the Publick, to his particular Interests, he was not without powerful Enemies. 'Tis seldom, if ever seen, that the Envy of Virtue is abstracted from a Hatred to the Person, whom it renders conspicuous; and as none but Men of a very narrow way of thinking, or of no Principles, can be possess'd by that mean Passion of Envy, so they cannot but deem the glaring Virtues of the Person they adorn, a Reproach to their own Lives; they chuse much rather to depreciate his Merit, or give a false and invidious Turn to his Actions, and endeavour to bring him down, in the Opinion of the World, to their own low Standard, than to give themselves the Pain to imitate his Example, and to obtain an equal Character among good Men. His Grace was not only envied, consequently hated, for what he had justly merited universal Love and Esteem, but had a Rival for his Post, whose Character, his own Life and Writings, (which latter, continue to infect) prove him the very Contrast of the Duke. A Man who had no Principles, and

who, as he had not only been a Rebel, but even a Counsellor of *Cromwell's*, was ready again to revive the Calamities the Nation had long groaned under to promote his own Interest, and gratify his own Ambition; his whole Designs being bounded within the narrow Circle of his own Advantage: Consequently 'tis no Wonder, that such a Man, with Views of supplanting his Grace, should use his utmost Endeavours to raise him up Difficulties, to render his Government uneasy. The Duke however, not less indefatigable and prudent, than his Enemies industrious and artful, bent his whole Thoughts to the raising the distressed Kingdom of *Ireland*, both in Character and Circumstances. To this End, he gave the greatest Encouragement to Learning, and to repair the Damage sustained by the late Inhibition, with regard to the Cattle, by reviving the Linnen Manufacture, the Foundation of which 1667. was lain by the Earl of *Strafford*.

This was a considerable Expence and Labour, to which is owing its now flourishing State. His Grace farther obtain'd for *Ireland*, the Allowance of a free Trade to all foreign Nations, either in War or Peace with his Majesty; and as the *Scots* had also prohibited the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, &c. that of their Linnen and Woollen Manufactures, Stockings, Gloves, or other Commodities was forbidden into *Ireland*, by the King's Permission. In this Liberty granted the *Irish*  
to



to export the Growth and Manufacture of their own, into foreign Countries, their Wool was not excepted, but in the Debates particularly granted. This the Duke's Prudence possibly judged a Snare to entrap him, wherefore he would grant no Licence for its Exportation; though it would have been a considerable Revenue to him. A Precaution becoming the Character of his Foresight, and first arising from a deliberate Consideration of the Law. Had he done it, 'tis more than probable it would have been the Ground of an Impeachment, which was meditated by the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Ashley*, and their Faction at Court. The Interest the first of these, had among the Commons, and his being capable of any Thing however vile, however impious, were no Secret. He wanted to enjoy two Posts held by the Duke, that of Steward of the Household, and that of Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was also ambition'd by the Lord *Ashley*. The Duke with the Assistance of his Counsellor, Sir *Robert Howard*, cook'd up twelve general Articles of Impeachment, of which the Lord Lieutenant had particular Notice. Tho' conscious of his own Integrity, he did not so far slight the Efforts of his Enemies, as not to take prudent Care to withstand the Violence of their Persecutions, and to manifest his own Innocency, which alone, from a recent Example in the Person of the Chancellor *Clarendon*, he was made sensible, was but a weak Shield

of

of Defence. Tho' his Grace was not intimidated, yet was he sensible that the Power and Malice of his Enemies were not to be contemn'd, and it behoved him to stand upon his Guard: His Removal from the Government was chiefly aim'd at, in the Design of the Impeachment, which the Situation of his Affairs required his preventing; for as he had contracted a large Debt for the Service, and had no Way to discharge it but with the Money given him by the Act of Settlement, of which he had received nothing, he had

Ground to apprehend it would be lost,  
1668. when he should be no longer at the Head of that Government. This

would have greatly hurt him in his Fortune. Every Mean that vigilant Malevolence, Ambition and Avarice could suggest, were put in their scandalous and groundless Reports, false and malicious Libels were propagated, with indefatigable Industry; but, *Magna est veritas & prevalebit*, the mighty Hopes of his Persecutors vanished into Smoak, and the Teeth of Envy were broken upon, but could make no Impression in, his Character, which stood unsullied not only with the King, but the Kingdoms in general. Like Gold on the Test, his Conduct appeared the brighter for the Proofs, and the severer and more inveterate was the Scrutiny into it, the greater Lustre it

acquired. His Enemies Efforts to de-  
1669. stroy him made him better known and more esteem'd and admir'd, by all  
who

who heard his Name ; and though at last the Importunity of the Faction, continually teasing his Majesty who loved his Ease, so far prevail'd as to get him remov'd from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* ; yet was the Chief of it disappointed in his Hopes of succeeding to that Honour, and the Junto had the Mortification to find they could not shake him in the King's good Opinion, and to see the University of *Oxford* give him the most signal Testimony of their Esteem and Affection, by chusing him their Chancellor : An Honour great in Proportion to the just Character of that illustrious Body, distinguish'd by their Zeal for Religion, steady Adherence to the Crown, their social Virtues, great Learning and Integrity, of the latter of which they had, in the worst of Times, given incontestible Proofs. But to ballance this, they had the malicious Pleasure of his Removal preventing his Receipt of 98,256 *l.* due to him, which made him all his Life struggle with many Difficulties, and at his Death leave a Load of Debts of 89,324 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* after having lost, for his Loyalty, beyond all Profits, receiv'd 868,590 *l.* 16 *s.* 9 *d.* Though the King from his Impatience of Importunity, in a Situation which made him apprehend offending the Duke's Enemies, had gratified them by his Removal, yet convinced that the many Accusations brought against his Grace were groundless, relied on his Council as knowing his Loyalty was not to be stagger'd. Had he placed less Confidence in  
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the Duke's Fidelity, 'tis possible his Grace and his Family would have suffer'd less. The *Irish* both lamented and shew'd a Resentment of the ill Treatment of their late Governour, by despising and eluding the mean Arts practis'd to asperse his Administration by his Successor, as is evinced by the great yet just Encomia on his Grace's Government, in the Letter from the Mayor and Sheriffs, in behalf of the City of *Dublin*, sent to his Son the Earl of *Offory* with the Instrument of his Freedom, neglecting, at the same Time, the Lord *Robert's*, then Lieutenant for the King: Besides many other Instances which may be given,

The Duke's unalterable Zeal for his 1670. Majesty's Service engag'd his Protection of the *Irish* Remonstrants: These were the Catholicks who opposed the Violences of the Pope's Nuncio; but the Anti-remonstrants prevailing by the Support of the *English* Ministry, that which the Duke had afforded the others, was the Ground of general Hatred which the *Irish Roman Catholicks* bore his Grace.

Designs of assassinating the Duke had been formerly lain by some of the Nuncio's Party; but now such a Design had been carried into Execution by a Fanatick, had not the Wantonness of *Blood's* Malice prevented it \*. The King highly resented this Attempt, and issued a Proclamation for the Discovery of the Vil-

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\* This Fellow was one of the Conspirators who design'd the Seizing *Dublin* Castle; *Vide* Appendix.



lains engag'd in it. *Blood* soon after was taken in his Attempt to steal the Crown, and being suspected and interrogated on that upon the Duke of *Ormond*, frankly and impudently avow'd the Fact; he was not only pardon'd, but had an Estate of 500 *l.* a Year given him in *Ireland*, by whose Influence is no difficult Matter to make a very rational Conjecture.

The Design upon the Duke's Life having miscarried, the Ruin of his Fortune was endeavour'd by taxing him with passing other Peoples Lands for his own; and thus greatly enlarging his ancient Estate. 1671. To support this Charge two Witnesses were produced, the one who had once left *England*, being guilty of Forgery and fearing the Duke would prosecute him; the other fled from *Ireland* for Murder, and both were Parties interested: But this Affair ended also in the Confusion of his Enemies: For the King declared the Allegations false and scandalous, and as such ordered the Charge to be dismiss'd the Council Board. It is ob- 1672. servable, that all the Land which the Duke was tax'd with, as a great Increase made to his Estate, was not above 50 *l. per Annum*, which these Witnesses had rented; and without the least Colour pretended to be their own Property. The *English* Parliament at length perceiving the pernicious Tendency with regard to publick Affairs of the 1673. Machinations of the Duke's Persecutors, broke the Neck of their Design, which was

was to embroil the Affairs of *Ireland* the easier to come at his Grace, who with wonderful Calmness bore all these Attacks on his Reputation: And during the whole Time of his Disgrace never neglected his Duty to the King, either as a Courtier, his Care for his Interests as a wise and loyal Counsellor, or his Concern and Vigilance for the Publick as a truly disinterested Patriot.

The Duke came to *London* in 1668; 1674. in 1674, after having six Years been in an uneasy Situation, and borne with the Coldness of the Court, he return'd to *Ireland* to inspect his own private Affairs, where he met a cold Reception from the Earl of *Essex*, then Lord Lieutenant; but a far different one from the City of *Dublin*, and the Nobility and Gentry in general.

The Ministry in *England* was chang- 1675. ed, and that the Parliament might meet in Good Humour, all *Roman* Catholick Priests were order'd to depart the Realm, and all of that Religion forbidden the Court. The Laws were put in Execution against Sectaries and Conventicles; but notwithstanding the King apprehended the Sessions would prove troublesome, and therefore earnestly desired the Duke of *Ormond* to come over, which he signified to his Grace by Mr. Secretary *Coventry* and the *Norwich* Frigate was ordered to attend him. He obey'd, but did not find the Alterations at Court had made many in the Situation of his Affairs; for he seem'd

seem'd not to have the least Shadow of Favour. This put him upon a Narrative of his Behaviour towards his Majesty, and a Vindication of his Administration and Oeconomy in the Revenue, on his Management of which latter, Lord *Ranelagh* had cast some Aspersions. This Work thoroughly refutes the Insinuations he artfully had made use of to prejudice the King against his Grace. Whoever has been but little conversant with the World may be surpriz'd at Lord *Ranelagh's* joining the Enemies of the Duke, when they are told he lay under the highest Obligation to his Grace. The Duke fully vindicated his Management of the Revenue; but Lord *Ranelagh*, who had attack'd him, not able so clearly to prove his own, thought the readiest Way to ballance his Accounts was to procure his Majesty's Pardon, which he obtain'd after a Decree against him for 76,000 *l*.

This Year the Duke of *Ormond* was, for the third Time, declared Lord Lieu- 1677.  
tenant of *Ireland*. He was receiv'd at *Oxford* with all possible Demonstrations of Respect and Esteem, by that learned and loyal Body, and with very great Ceremony by the Earl of *Essex*, who was to resign the Sword to him. Soon after his Arrival he laid the Foundation of the great Hospital for Soldiers; erected *Charles-fort* to secure 1678.  
the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and employ'd the greatest Part of his Time in detecting Frauds in the Revenue, which as also the  
Forces

Forces of the Kingdom he considerably augmented, for the Security of the Kingdom. His Majesty at this Time thinking to gain over his Enemies, took the Method to make them more formidable, by putting them into the Posts of Power and Credit, to which End he desired the Duke to resign his Post of Lord Steward of the Household.

The Account of the Popish Plot being sent by his Grace, with its extending to *Ireland*, and a Design upon his own Life, occasion'd his issuing Proclamations necessary for the Security of that Kingdom, and taking other proper Methods to that End. Though the Duke used very necessary Precautions to prevent the threatned Commotions, yet his Moderation not agreeing with more violent Tempers, a Design of assassinating his Grace was strongly rumour'd, and Letters to that Purport dropt in the Streets, in hopes that his own Security might push him on to Severities; but his Firmness of Mind was not to be shaken; and he made use of no harsher Means than what were absolutely necessary, had the imaginary Danger been real; except against Tories or common Robbers and Murderers, in the Persons of their Relations, who protected or concealed them. This Moderation of the Duke's occasion'd calumniating Suggestions, 1679. and Misrepresentations to be sent to *England*, though the Protestants, all over the Kingdom, by the Prudence of his Conduct, were in general under little or no Appre-



Apprehensions, except in *Munster*, and there was the least Ground for Fear; from thence however came many Reports, which when examin'd vanish'd into Smoak.

Who will consider the Methods his Grace pursued to guard against the supposed Danger must allow them to be according to the Rules of Prudence; whereas the violent Measures others wish'd taken would probably have made that real, which Time has shewn was in fact chimerical; but possibly the realizing what was pretended to be fear'd, was the Design of those who tax'd his Grace's Conduct: However, his Experience, Foresight, and Resolution were neither to be amus'd nor shaken, and careless of Censure, sincerely attach'd to the Interest of the Crown, he pursued his Course and by keeping steadily to his Plan, attain'd his End, *viz.* the keeping *Ireland* in Peace, which others as industriously endeavour'd to embroil, and had they not been disappointed by the Vigilance and Loyalty of the Duke more than by any other Event or Person, 'tis almost demonstrable, from the Power the antimonarchical Men then had in their Hands, the Commonwealth would have reviv'd, and the King have follow'd his Father to a Scaffold.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, to whose Views the Duke retaining the Government of *Ireland*, was a main Obstacle, in a Speech in the Lords House, insinuated that his Grace was popishly inclined. This Attack from him

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made

made the Duke's Friends apprehend farther Designs against him, and give him their Advice to come to *England*; he accordingly wrote to Mr. Secretary *Coventry* for his Majesty's Permission: But the Answer his Majesty gave was, *He had one of his Kingdoms in good Hands, and was resolved to keep it so.* It was however reported that the Duke was to be removed, and Lord *Arlington* asking his Majesty, if such Report was true, he answered, *It was a damn'd Lie, and that he was satisfied while he, the Duke of Ormond, was there, that Kingdom was safe.*

When the *Scots* Insurrection broke out, the Duke, ever vigilant, drew a good Party of the Army into the North of *Ireland*, to curb the rigid Nonconformists there, and, in case of Necessity, to be pass'd over to *Scotland*.

It has been already observed, that the Duke's being Lieutenant of *Ireland* was a great Impediment to the Designs of the Faction; and as they could not then remove him they intended to remove the Counsellors of that Kingdom; but neither could they directly carry this Point, but were forced upon indirect Means, by which they hoped to make the *Irish* desperate, should they fail in their Views. This was by procuring Orders for the Council to transmit several Bills against the *Irish* Recusants, which if they refused to do, it would afford just Reason for removing them; and if they did, they hoped it would make the *Irish* break out into Rebellion. They did

did not however desist from their Endeavours to get the Duke put out of 1680. the Lieutenancy, and again attack'd him on the old Subject, the Management of the Revenue, but with little Honour to themselves, without advancing their Design. They objected to his Conduct the Expence of marching the Forces to the North, and the fitting up Arms, when the News came to him of the *Scots* Insurrection, amounting to 3900 in all; but their Hopes being still eluded herein, they tax'd him with being popishly affected; charged him with sending Sir *George Lane* to a Meeting of the *Irish* Popish Clergy, and his sitting with them. The latter Part was false, and the Meeting was not only for the King's Interest, but with his Consent. But whatever the Party could allege to depreciate his Conduct, or to give Suspicion of his not being as zealously attach'd to the Church of *England* as his Profession, and the whole Tenor of his Life spoke him, wanted sufficient Ground to satisfy even his Enemies; wherefore 'tis nothing wonderful that it could have no Effect on his Majesty: But possibly they were little anxious how the King stood affected, if they, by their Calumnies, could but raise a Clamour in the Nation against, and such Jealousies in the Parliament of, the Duke, as might serve for a Pretence, and oblige his Majesty, to remove him, whom the Lord *Effex* was in great Hopes to succeed. The King well knew that the Enemies of the Duke were not less Enemies

mies to the Monarchy, and had just  
 1681. Reason to apprehend the Danger the  
 three Kingdoms would be in, if *Ire-*  
*land* was entrusted to the Government of any  
 Person of less Capacity, less Courage, or less  
 Loyalty. A Report prevailing that his Grace  
 would be remov'd, his Majesty wrote to the  
 Duke to assure him it was altogether ground-  
 less.

The King convinced, to Demonstra-  
 1682. tion, of the Design of setting up a Com-  
 monwealth a second Time, resolving  
 to exert himself, would have brought Lord  
*Shaftsbury* to his Trial; but the Grand Jury  
 refused to find the Bill, upon the strongest  
 Evidence. This infamous Partiality, however,  
 answer'd the King's Views by opening the  
 Eyes of the People, which was so fatal to the  
 Republicans, that they could never recover  
 the Blow. His Majesty's Resolution to assert  
 his Authority, extricated him out of all his  
 Difficulties and lessened those under which  
 the Duke had long struggled; and as the Fer-  
 ment abated in *England*, the People's Minds  
 were quieted in *Ireland*, where all being hush'd  
 into a Calm, his Grace had an Opportunity,  
 the King having sent for him, to cross to *Eng-*  
*land*, leaving his Son the Earl of *Arran* Lord  
 Deputy. He receiv'd the Compliments of,  
 and Presents from every Town, through which  
 he pass'd from *Chester* to *London*; into which  
 City he was usher'd by a great Number of  
 Persons of Distinction. In his Entry he was  
 attend-



attended by 27 Coaches and Six, 300 Gentlemen on Horseback, five of the King's Trumpets, the Serjeant Trumpet, and a Kettle Drum. At Court he met an affectionate and tender Reception by his Majesty, and he was immediately sworn of the Privy Council.

The City of *London* had been poisoned with republican Principles, and the Dependence that Set of Men had on Juries, encouraged them openly to avow their Designs to overturn the Constitution.

*Shaftsbury* had taken up his Residence in the City, was the Darling of the deluded Mobb, and all the meanest and most virulent of the lowest Class were put upon the Livery to carry the Elections of new Officers, which were managed in an illegal Manner: but the Lord Mayor Sir *John Moore*, an honest tho' a timid Man, inspired by the Duke, stood firm and two honest Sheriffs and a Lord Mayor of great Probity, notwithstanding the Efforts of the Faction were chosen, which broke their Spirits: For now the Neck of pack'd Juries were also broken, and *Shaftsbury* thinking the City no longer a Residence of Safety, withdrew privately to *Holland*.

The Duke was indefatigable in his Endeavours to defeat the Designs of the antimonarchical Faction. He saw nothing less than the whole Constitution at Stake, and these Endeavours were not only well understood by but extremely grateful to, his Majesty, who

made him an *English* Duke the 9th of *November*.

The *Rye-House* Plot was the last 1683. Recourse, after the Faction had in vain try'd to get a Parliament call'd before they had lost all Influence. The King reflecting on the End designed by, and the Generality of the Persons concern'd in it, said in his Reflections on the intended Assassination, *that 'twas very strange Beggars shou'd contend for Property; Atheists for Religion, and Bastards for Succession.* On the 9th of *April*, this Year the Castle of *Dublin* was burnt; the indefatigable Care of the Lord Deputy saved the Magazine, consequently, the City, from being buried in its Ruins; the Duke's Loss in Furniture, &c. was very considerable.

The King's Affairs being so well e- 1684. stablish'd in *England*, that there was not any Necessity for his Grace's Absence from his Government, after two Years Stay at Court, having in *June* receiv'd Orders for his Return, prepar'd to set out for *Ireland*; but his Departure was, by the Death of his Dutcheß, retarded till *August*. No sooner had he left *London*, but he was attacked on some Suggestions from Col. *Talbot*, who made such a Report to the King, that a general Reformation in the Council, Magistracy, and Army of *Ireland*, was determined, and his Grace, on *September* the 5th, had a Hint from Sir *Robert Southwell* of his Removal,  
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In *October* the King intimated his Pleasure on this Head, and of Lord *Rochester's* succeeding to his Post. On the 6th of *February* King *Charles* died, and the Duke, four Days after, being sent for, left *Dublin* to proceed to *England*; having first caused King *James* to be proclaim'd, and, as order'd, lain down his Character, Which was a Treatment he had little Reason to expect, and an Indignity the late King wou'd not have put upon him. He set out for *England*, and on the Road met the News of his Regiment of Horse being given to Col. *Talbot*. Notwithstanding these Affronts from Court, he was, when near *London*, met by Numbers of Coaches, and receiv'd at his House by a great Multitude and loud Acclamations. He was continued Lord Steward of the Household, and at the Coronation again carried the Crown.

The Lord *Clarendon* succeeded to the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*; but after 1685. a Year was recalled to make Way for Col. *Talbot*, created Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who made great Changes both in the Civil and Military, and the Duke lost his Regiment of Foot. He kept his Troop of Horse, which he had purchas'd fifty Years before, and this was the only Military Employment he held.

In *February* the Duke retired for some Weeks to *Cornbury* in *Oxfordshire*. 1686. a Seat Lord *Clarendon* lent him, and in *August* attended his Majesty in his Progress as far as *Bristol*: He after this, with-

stood the first Instance of his Majesty's exercising a dispensing Power, and when the King felt his Pulse on the Design of abolishing the penal Laws, he found him unalterably steady in his Aversion to what, he possibly foresaw, wou'd, as it proved, be contrary to his Majesty's Interest, tho' it might flatter his Views and Inclinations:

The Duke being lain up with the Gout at *Badminton*, had the Honour of two Visits from the King, in going from *Bath* to *Chester*, and at his Return. He permitted his Grace to retire and dispensed with his Attendance at Court, as Lord Steward, from which Post he wou'd not remove him.

His Grace removing from *Berminton*, hired a Seat in *Dorsetshire*, call'd *Kingston-Hall*, where he died *Saturday* the 21st of *July*, and on *August* the 4th, his Corps was deposited in the Abbey of *Westminster*. Dr. *Sprat* Bishop of *Rocheſter* read the Service.

What has been already said of this great Man renders a Character of him needless. Had he lived till the 19th of *October* he had completed his seventy-ninth Year. He was succeeded in Honours and Estate by his Grandson *James* Earl of *Oſſory*; his Father was *Thomas* Butler Earl of *Oſſory*, born in the Castle of *Kilkenny*, on *July* the 9th 1634; in 1647, he went into *England* with his Father when he quitted the Government of *Ireland*, and staid in *London* till the Duke of *Ormonde*, going in Disguise to escape beyond the Sea, passing near the  
Town,



Town, sent in for, and took, him with him to *France*. When his Grace in 1648 returned to *Ireland*, Lord *Offory* was left with his Brother, Lord *Richard Butler*, under the Tutition of a *French* Minister, at *Caen*, in whose House he boarded. But in *October* 1649, they both went to *Paris* to *Monfieur de Camp's* Academy, where Lord *Offory* grew expert in every Exercise, and in all his Encounters with *French* Gentlemen gain'd great Reputation. In *December* 1650, he came back to *Caen* to his Mother the Dutcheſs of *Ormonde*, and ſtaid there till the Summer of 1652, when he followed her into *England*, and from thence went with her, in the Beginning of the next Year, into *Ireland*, where he continued till the End of 1654. The Dutcheſs then going into *England*, he accompanied her to *London*, and living in *Wild-Houſe*, was ſoon after (*viz.* in *March* 1655) clapped up by *Cromwell's* Order in the Tower. There was no particular Thing lain to his Charge, his Crime was being converſant among the dangerous Men, and confided in, by them, as one who wou'd expoſe his Life for the King on the firſt Occaſion. The Guard that came to ſecure him at *Wild-Houſe* departed upon the Dutcheſs's Assurance of his appearing the next Morning. His Lordſhip was not in the Houſe, at that Time, and Mr. *Stephen Ludlow* finding him, told him how Matters ſtood, and that if he were inclin'd to make his Eſcape, there was a Veſſel ready to carry him abroad. But her Grace

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having promised that he should be forth-coming, was against that Step, and persuaded him to go very early the next Morning to attend the Protector at *Whitehall*. He staid there, in the Drawing-Room, till three in the Afternoon, sending in several Messages but receiving no Answer to any, till *Baxter* told him he was commanded to provide him a Lodging in the Tower. Thus, without being examined or admitted to the Protector, he was hurried away thither in a Hackney-Coach, and there remain'd till *October* following, when falling ill of a dangerous Fever, and the Physicians certifying that he cou'd not live, without Change of Air, he was released and suffered to go down with his Mother to *Acton* in *Glostershire*: But continuing still very ill, and the Physicians advising him to try a

1680. foreign Air, a Pass was, with much Difficulty, procured for him; upon which his Brother Lord *Richard* went with him as one of his Servants. They landed in *Flanders*, but soon removed into *Holland*, where Lord *Offory* continued, not daring to come near the King as long as *Cromwell* lived, for fear it should be a Pretence for taking away from the Dutcheß the Tenancy of her own Estate; which she had, at last, obtain'd and got settled by the Favour of *Henry Cromwell*.

In *November* 1659, the Earl of *Offory* was married to *Emilia* Daughter of Monsieur de *Beverweert*, natural Son of the Prince of *Orange*.

*range*; Governor of *Sluys*, and all its Dependencies, and a very leading Man in the Assembly of the States General. After the Restoration coming into *England*, he was made, by Patent, Colonel of Foot in *Ireland* on *February* 8th, 1661, and Colonel and Captain of Horse by a like Patent on *June* 13th; on the 19th of the same Month, he was made Lieutenant General of the Horse, by another Patent; and on *August* 16th, 1665, appointed Lieutenant General of the Army in that Kingdom. In the Year last mention'd he was at *Euston* in *Norfolk*, when the four Days Fight happen'd with the *Dutch*, and hearing the Guns from Sea, he and Sir *T. Clifford* found Means, from *Harwich*, to get on Board the Duke of *Albemarle's* Ship, the Duke being then retiring, and fighting as he retreated to preserve the smaller Vessels, which he caused to sail before him, while he faced the Enemy with the larger. The Earl brought his Grace the first News he had that Prince *Rupert* was order'd back from the West to join his Fleet. When the *Dutch* Ships press'd hard upon the Duke, Lord *Offory* said to him, "He saw no Help but they must be taken;" but his Grace reply'd, "No; he knew how to prevent that;" and when upon the Danger increasing, his Lordship was more curious to know how he would avoid being taken, the Duke answer'd, "He would blow up the Ship." This brave Resolution was so agreeable to Lord *Offory's* own Sentiments, that he

ever

ever after had his Grace in great Esteem. He was at this Time very well with Lord *Arlington*, and in *April* 1666, was contracted that Alliance by this Nobleman's marrying *Mada-moiselle Isabella de Beverweert* (Sister to the Countess of *Offory*) which cemented a Friendship between them that lasted till Fate put an End to it by the Death of the former, Lord *Arlington* always shew'd a passionate Regard for the Earl of *Offory* in all his Concerns, on all Occasions, assisting him with his Interest and Counsels to the very last; and on the other Hand, when Lord *Arlington* was going to be impeached by the Commons, and the Matter was debated five Days together in the House, Lord *Offory* stood every Day, like a Solicitor, in the Lobby, pressing the Members with the most earnest Intreaties, and neglecting nothing till he had carried the Point in his Favour.

In the same Year, the Earl of *Offory*, upon his Father's Resignation of the Place, was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King; and in the *June* following was sworn of the Privy Council of *England*. Soon after, by a Writ bearing Date *September* 14th, he was call'd to the Parliament then sitting at *Westminster* by the Title of Lord *Butler of Moor-Park*, and took his Place there accordingly on the 18th Day of the same Month. In *May* 1670 he waited on his Majesty to *Dover*, when he went to meet the Dutchess of *Orleans*. In *October* that Year, the King being desirous to see his Nephew the Prince  
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of *Orange*, sent the Earl for his Highness. His Lordship accordingly sat Sail for *Holland*, attended by several Yatches, and about the latter End of that Month put him and his Train on Shore at *Margaret* in *Kent*. In *February* following he waited on the Prince back to the *Hague*, went from thence to view the *French* King's new Conquests in *Flanders*, and proceeded to the Court of *France* with the Design of serving that Monarch as a Volunteer, in an Expedition then intended by his Most Christian Majesty, in Person, towards *Alsace*: But that King having altered his Resolutions, he returned by the Way of *Holland* into *England*; and in *April* 1671, the Prince of *Orange* sent him a Present to *London*, being a Bason and Ewer of massy Gold.

In *June* 1671, the Earl went for *Flanders*, designing to go to the Siege *Brunswick*; but understanding, there, that all Differences were accommodated, he return'd by the *Hague* into *England*. In *January* 1671-2, he had a Commission to command the *Resolution*, a third Rate Man of War, and another in *April* 1672, to command the *Victory*, a second Rate. After the *Solebay* Fight on *June* 3, he sent Mr. *Muleys* to visit the sick and wounded Seamen in *St. Thomas's* Hospital in *Southwark*, and to relieve them according as he found their Necessities. Pursuant to his Orders, Mr. *Muleys* gave to them he found most maim'd 40 s. to such as had less Hurt, 20 s. and to those

those who had the slightest Wounds 10 s. a-piece. In *September*, that Year he was elected Knight of the Garter, and installed at *Windsor* the 23d of the next Month. In *November* following he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, with Compliments of Condolence to that King, upon the Death of *Louis Francis* of *France*, Duke of *Anjou*. He was highly caress'd in that Court, and treated in some Respects as a Prince of the Blood. The King press'd him to take a Command in his Army, and bidding him ask what Appointments he pleas'd, added & *j'en feray au dela*. "I will do even more, I know (said he) "you are born to a great Estate, yet while your "Father lives, you are in the Condition of a "Cadet." His Lordship excusing himself, the King sent Monsieur *de Louvois* the next Day to his Lodgings, who told him the King was pleas'd to bestow a Command upon him, and desired him, to ask what Command he would have; and that in asking he would be as bold as a Lion. His Lordship return'd him a Compliment in Answer; upon which he said, "Come, my Lord, I see you are modest, let "me speak for you; will 20,000 Pistoles for "an Equipage, and 10,000 Pistoles a Year do? "If not, say what you will have, and choose "what Command you please." The Earl still declin'd the Offer, saying, he was already engag'd in the Sea-Service of his own Prince, in the War against the *Dutch*. At his parting from the

the Court of *France* he was presented with a Jewel of 2000 l. Value.

In *May* 1673, the King gave him the Command of the *St. Michael* a first rate Ship, and made him Rear-Admiral of the blue Squadron, in Order to that great Sea-fight against the *Dutch* which happened shortly after. Sir *Edward Spragge* commanded in Chief that Squadron in the Engagement, being on Board the Prince; but that Ship being disabled in the Fight, with *Van Trump*, and *Spragge* himself slain as he was going in his Boat on Board another Ship, His Lordship lay to defend the Prince from being fired or taken by the Enemy, and towards Night brought her off in Tow and join'd Prince *Rupert's* Squadron. He was then made Rear-Admiral of the Red Squadron, and towards the Close of that Summer's Expedition, (*viz.* in *September*) he was sent to the *Buoy* in the *Nore* to command the Fleet there lying, in Chief, and to wear the Flag of Union on his Main-top-mast-head. This was attended with a Pension of 250 Pounds settled upon him as having had that Command and Privilege; it being a usual Establishment given of Course, or by the King's Courtesy, to all that have had the Honour of the Flag.

It was at the latter End of the same Year that he formed a Design upon *Helvoetfluys*, where when he was last in *Holland*, he had seen with Indignation the Royal *Charles*, taken by the *Dutch* at *Chatbam*, lain up, with  
all

all the *Maes* Squadron as in a secure Harbour. Being desirous from that Time of an Opportunity to revenge the Disgrace that this Nation suffered at *Chatham*, by returning another of the like Nature upon *Holland*, he received advice from a Correspondent in that Country, that this Place, where 22 of the largest *Dutch* Men of War were lain up, close by one another, and which for its great Importance used to be well guarded, was then left with a small Garrison of only two Companies of Foot, and that the Batteries, at the Entrance of the Port, were in no good Condition. His Lordship thereupon sent Monsieur Sir *Paul* his Gentleman of the Horse, who though a *Frenchman* spoke very good *Dutch*, and having married a *Dutch* Woman of the *Hague*, had Acquaintaance in that Town, and the Country about it, to take an exact Account of the Place, and to bring him a Plan. St. *Paul* executed his Commission with much Industry, Exactness, and great Hazard of Life : And when he brought the Account to *Whitehall*, his Majesty was so pleased with it, that he promised him a considerable Reward for his Pains, though he never had it. The Execution of the Design appearing very feasible, the Earl obtain'd the King's Orders and Instructions to go with 10 Frigates, 2000 Landmen, to make Decent at *Helvoetsluys*, and to destroy the Royal *Charles*, and such otheir Ships as he found there. Every Thing was ready ; but on the same Night he



he was to take his Leave, and to go on Board in order to execute his Design, he receiv'd the King's Countermand; which gave him great Trouble and Vexation. Sir *John Narborough* who was to command next to his Lordship, in this Expedition, knew the Coasts of *Holland* and the Port of *Helvoetsluys* perfectly well, and was to discharge the Part of Chief Pilot in the Action. When the King made Difficulties in the Matter, Sir *John* told him, he wou'd undertake, at the Peril of his Head, to carry in the Ships at half Flood; and the Earl undertook to tell his Majesty, "That he wou'd fire the *Dutch* Ships with a half-penny Cannon, or he shou'd place his Head upon *Westminster-Hall* by *Cromwell's*, for the greatest Traitor ever breathed." It was in Truth the Easiness of executing so great an Enterprize, that caused it to be thwarted by a very great Man, who was jealous of the glory that wou'd thence redound to the Earl of *Ossory*. Mr. *Ellis* was afterwards upon the Place with his Lordship, who found the Plan *St. Paul* had brought him very exact, and the Thing as easy to have been executed, as he had before imagined.

In *November* 1674, the Earl was sent into *Holland*, about the Match between the Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *York*. In 1675, on *Trinity Monday*, he was chosen Master of the Society and Brotherhood of *Trinity-House*: And in *August* following, was made one of the Lord

Commissioners of the Admiralty. In Nov. 18, 1676. he was sworn and admitted to the Place of Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, *Don Francife de Melo*, the *Portugal* Ambassador, (who was also her Chamberlain) being displaced on a Complaint of the Bishop of *London*, for licenſing Popiſh Books. On June 2, 1677, N. S. the Prince of *Orange* ſending over *M. Bentnick* to *England*, recommended him by Letter to the Earl of *Oſſory*, and to his Father to aſſiſt him in the Affair which he came about. The Buſineſs was to propoſe a Match with the Lady *Mary*; and Mr. *Bentinck* firſt addreſſing himſelf to thoſe Noblemen, they adviſed him to apply to the Earl of *Danby*, then Lord Treasuſer, leſt he ſhould oppoſe the Thing, if moved from any other Quarter. The Affair ſucceeded, the Prince had Leave to come over, at the End of the Campaign; and the Earl of *Oſſory* having obtain'd a Permiſſion (which had formerly been reſuſed him) to go and make the reſt of that Campaign with his Highneſs, paſſ'd over into *Flanders* in July, and joined him at the Siege of *Charleroy*; when the Prince drew off from that Siege, and the *French* Army under the Command of *Monſieur de Luxemburgh* appear'd in View of the Confederate Forces, and an Engage ment was expected, he gave the Earl of *Oſſory* the Poſt of Honour, with 6000 Men under his Command; but no Action enſued. In the *February* following he went into *Holland*, to enter upon the Command of  
General

General of the King of *Great-Britain's* Subjects in the Pay of the States, and returned into *England* in Company with the Lord Ambassador *Hyde*, in *September 10th, 1678.*

It was in the Campaign of that Year, and at the Conclusion of the War, that the memorable Battle of *Mons* was fought, in which the famous Mareschal of *Luxemburgh* was forced to retreat; and the Earl of *Ossory* gained so much Glory. The States of *Holland*, the Duke of *Villa Harman*, Governour of the Low-Countries, and the King of *Spain* himself, in a Letter under his own Hand, acknowledged the great Services he had performed in the Campaign. Upon his Return to *England*, he was under Nomination for commanding his Majesty's Fleet, designed to chastise the Pirates of *Algiers*: But insisting on a greater Number of Ships, and better appointed, for doing something more for the Service of the King, and the Honour of the Nation, than perhaps was propos'd, the Lord Treasurer *Danby*, obstructed the granting his Demands, and Sir *John Narborough* was appointed with a small Squadron for that Service.

*Charles II.* King of *Spain* having on *August 31st, 1676, N. S.* married *Maria Louise*, Daughter of *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, by his first Wife *Henrietta Maria* of *England*, the King intended to send the Earl of *Ossory* as his Envoy Extraordinary, to congratulate his *Catholick* Majesty on his Alliance and Marriage

of his Niece. A Jewel was made by *Lagoose* the Jeweler, which cost 13000 *l.* and was intended as a Present to the Queen of *Spain*. His Lordship, also, put himself to a considerable Expence in preparing for the Journey, proposing to pass through *Portugal* to *Madrid*, and from thence through *France* to *Italy*, to make a Visit to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*. but this Journey was stopped, not so much by good Husbandry, which served for a Pretence, as by the Pique and Ill-will of the Earl of *Effex*, then first Commissioner of the Treasury, in Conjunction with Lords *Sunderland* and *Halifax*, chief Manager of the Affairs of the Kingdom. Splenetick Persons are of all Men the aptest to give Affronts, and yet retain the most lasting Resentments of any, for such as they fancy are offered to themselves; such a one was the Earl of *Effex*, he was always ready to do ill Offices to the Earl of *Offory*, and had once, without any Reason, provoked him so far, that he sent his Gentleman of the Horse to him with a Challenge, but the Duel was prevented. *Effex* on this Occasion prevailed on his Majesty, to send only an Express to their *Catholick* Majesties, with a congratulatory Letter, in which the King made honourable Mention of the Earl of *Offory*, whom he once intended to send on that Message, but could not at that Time spare him from his Councils and Presence. Had the Jewel been sent, by Lord *Offory*, it would been disposed of in an honourable Manner; but nothing.



thing was saved by keeping it at Home; for not long after it was given to the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth*.

The Earl when he went over in *February* 1677-8 to *Holland*, had been made General by the Prince of *Orange's* Patent, (as they call it there) and in that Quality commanded and took Place all the Time he was in the Army, and had his Waggon Ordnances appointed him by the States, but he had not the States Commission till 1680. In the Beginning of *March* this Year, he ſent Mr. *Ellis* over to ſolicit that Affair, and in caſe it could not be obtain'd, to deliver up his Commission of Colonel and Captain, which he had from the States. The Prince was much ſurprized and grieved at this unexpected Reſolution of the Earls, being very unwilling to looſe him, and the War being at an End, the States would hardly create ſo great an Officer; of which they thought they had no longer any Need. His Highneſs would have ſent the Agent back with good Words and fair Promiſes. But Mr. *Ellis* acquainting him that his Lordſhip had come to a fix'd Reſolution, either to have the State Commission as General, or to have no Commission at all from them, it was at length obtain'd. In *April* this Year he was reſtored to the Privy Council, out of which he had been left, ever ſince the Diſſolution of the old, and the Creation of the new Council, of which the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Reſident, and was ſoon after deſign'd to be Go-

vernor of *Tangiers*, then besieged by the *Moors*. As he was preparing to go thither with a Considerable Brigade, he died three Weeks after he had compleated the 46th Year of his Age, to the Universal Regret of this Nation, and the general Grief of a great Part of *Europe*.

He left behind him two Sons, *James* who succeeded him in his titular Dignity of Earl of *Offory*, and *Charles* now Earl *Arran*, with four Daughters, *Elizabeth*, married to *William Stanely*, Earl of *Derby*; *Emilia* still living, *Henrietta*, since married to *Henry D'Auverquerque*, Earl of *Grantham*, and *Katherine*. There was another *Henrietta*, and a Daughter named *Mary*, who died in their Infancy: The same untimely Fate attended three others of his Sons, buried *June* the 1st, 1667; *March* 3d, 1668, and *August* 26, 1669, at *Christ Church* in *Dublin*. Those of his Children who surviv'd him, fell under the Care of the Duke of *Ormond*, who supplied to them the Loss of their Father, the late Duke, who was born in the Castle of *Dublin*, *April* 29, 1665; and succeeded to his Grand-father's Titles and Estate, and to the Generosity, Bravery and publick Spirit of the Family, was in 1675, sent to *France*, at the Age of Ten Years, that he might go through his Exercise and learn the Language, under the Care of Monsieur de *L'Ange*, who had been recommended to the late Earl of *Offory* for his Governour. He made but a short Stay in that Kingdom, as his Governour's Conduct corresponded but ill with the

the Duke's Views. Soon after his Return to *England* he was sent to *Oxford*, and placed in the College of *Christ Church*, where he continued to the Death of his Father. The *French* King laying Siege to *Luxemburgh*, the young Earl of *Offory* then 19 Years old, went to that Siege, in which the Lord *Howard* Son to the Earl of *Carlisle*, died of his Wounds. *Marschal Cregui* commanded at, and the King of *France*, covered the Siege, with an Army of 40,000 Men. 'Twas invested the 28th of *April*, the Trench was open'd on the 8th of *May*, and the Town surrender'd the 7th of *June* 1684, he, two Years before was married to the Daughter of Lord *Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Rochester*, who left him a Widower in the 1685, in which Year he was made a Lord of the Bed-Chamber, serv'd against the Duke of *Monmouth* in the West, and a Treaty of Marriage between him and the Lady *Mary Somerset*, Daughter to the Duke of *Beaufort*, which had formerly been enter'd upon, was reviv'd, and happily concluded.

Before I enter on the Particulars of this Nobleman's publick Life, it may not be amiss to take a short View of the Face of Affairs, about the Time he made his first Appearance upon the grand Theatre of this World. We have, in a summary Way shewn the Designs of the Republicans to throw these Nations back into the Confusions the Miseries attendant on civil Contests, and again involve them in Scenes of Blood and Desola-

tion, out of which they had emerged, by the Almighty, opening the Eyes of the People to their long Infatuation and, making them sensible how impossible it was for them to recover from real Evils, under which they groan'd, while the Fear of imaginary Ills, the Inventions of their Tyrants continued them obstinate in their Rébellion to their lawful Sovereign, whose Restoration was the only Balm that cou'd heal their Wounds ; the only Cement that cou'd unite them in the Pursuit of their Country's Interest, which necessarily includes that of every Individual, and the only means to retrieve their lost Character. We have also shewn the Designs of those Enemies of their Country, defeated by the remarkable Intervention of of Providence ; the King and his Royal Brother escaped from the Snares lain for their Destruction, in the which the Wretches themselves were taken, and that this was their last effort in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, who had indulged them more than consisted with good Policy, or that Gratitude, which the Sufferers for the Royal Cause had Reason to expect from his Majesty ; as these were left to struggle under the Wants, into which their unalterable Loyalty had plunged them : while they, who had before embroiled, fixed an indelible Stain upon, the Nation, and had been most active against the royal exiled Family, basked in the Sunshine of royal Favour, were raised to Titles and Posts of the highest Dignity, Trust and Profit, and, by an  
unaccountable



unaccountable Policy, had the Power of doing Mischief put into their Hands, as an necessary, nay, an infallible Expedient to restrain them within the Bounds of their Duty to their Sovereign, and of Moderation to their Fellow-subjects: But the Use they made of this Confidence convinced his Majesty that he could not fall under a more fatal Mistake than to believe these Men capable of being obliged.

On the Death of the King, the Duke of York, his Brother succeeded to the Crown with the greatest Alacrity of the People, whose Hearts he had gain'd, by having often exposed himself for the Honour of the Nation, to the most eminent Dangers with an Intrepidity, which made good the Character Mareschal *Turenne* gave him, viz. that *if ever Man was born without Fear it was the Duke of York*. Happy had it been for him, his Family, and these Nations, cou'd we add, *if ever King was religiously just to his Word, it was King James the Second*, but he was less jealous of his Honour in this, than in other Instances; for his Majesty, in his Speech to his Privy Council, on his Accession to the Throne, promised to *preserve the Government both in Church and State, as it was then establish'd by Law*, and this he reiterated in his Speech to his first Parliament. The returns of Loyalty made by the People, without other Motives, ought to have prevailed on the King to have been punctual in the Performance

mance of this Promise; but the large Strides he openly took towards the Introduction of Popery, and Arbitrary Power, dashed all the Hopes of Happiness (conceived) under his Reign, than whom none better understood the Interests of his Kingdoms; was more able, or more willing to advance them, had not his Attachment to the See of *Rome* blinded him both to those, and to his own, and alarmed the People, in general, to whom he gave but too just Grounds to fear for both their Civil and Religious Rights.

Whoever is alarmed with the Approach of Danger naturally turns his Thoughts on the Means to prevent it, and notwithstanding the personal Affection the Subjects of *England* bore to their Sovereign, they were ready to listen to almost any Proposals, likely to preserve their Liberty and Religion.

Never was a Parliament chosen with greater Freedom, than that call'd by King *James*; and never was there one which might be more justly stiled the Barrier between the Prerogatives of the Crown; the Rights and Liberties of the People; for as Mr. *Echard* says, tho' the Commons were very forward to assist the King in his Civil Interests, they were extremely cautious with Regard to *Popery*.

The Rebellions of *Argyle* and *Monmouth* met a general detestation, except among the Sectaries and Republicans; and as all unsuccessful Insurrections, rather strengthen, than

than shake, the Prince upon the Throne, so these gave the King an Opportunity to trample on the Neck of all his Enemies: but by want of true Policy, they smoothed the Way to his second Exile, as they wrought upon the People, to think that no Proofs of Loyalty and Affection, cou'd prevail on his Majesty to desist from his Design of bringing the Kingdom, once more, under the Yoke of *Rome*, and of rendering himself arbitrary; and that their Zeal to support him in his undoubted Rights, would only strengthen his Hands to deprive them of such as they could justly and lawfully claim: No Wonder then if they who had the greatest Properties and the greatest Zeal for Religion, bent their Thoughts on Means to secure the Possession of the one, and the Purity of the other; or, that the People, from what I have already observed, was ready to join and support them in such Measures, as they should pursue, conducive to these Ends: Tho' I am in myself satisfied both from History, which speaks the personal Affection of the People to the King, and from Conversation with many, at that Time able to judge of the Inclinations both of the Nobility and People in general, that the Views of much the greater Number extended no farther than to the Restraining his Majesty within those Bounds which he himself had promised he would not pass, and had not the least Thought of dethroning him, than whom, as I have already said, no Prince

was

was more generally beloved. Nay, the Prince of *Orange*, himself, by his disclaiming all Pretensions to the Crown in the Declaration he published, seems to have been thoroughly persuaded that the People in general had no Design, nay, were abhorrent, from the Thoughts of dispossessing their Sovereign; and what corroborates this Opinion, are the Sentiments of the Generality of the Nation on the Bill of Exclusion, demonstrated by that, almost, universal Joy, with which King *James* was declared. But allowing the Nobility and Gentry who invited the Prince of *Orange*, and went over, to him, designed to keep this Mean, they were soon convinced it was too difficult; they had gone too great Lengths to recede, with Safety; for had not the King deserted himself their Desertion of him, the Laws would have pronounced Rebellion, and those glorious Patriots, who brought about that most happy Revolution, they would have condemned as Traytors; nay, possibly the very People who have since been most lavish in their Praise, for their having contributed to this surprising Event, would have huzza'd them to the Gallows, on their not succeeding, for having made the Attempt. They were therefore under a Necessity, for Self-preservation to go all Lengths, and being once thus deeply engaged to hesitate at nothing proposed. Could such a Revolution have been foretold, hardly an Angel from Heaven would have gained Credit. How could



could it have entered into the Thoughts of Men, who knew the Character of King *James*; while he was Duke of *York*, who had remarked the Affection the People had always shewn for his Person, that he would, without making the least Effort to maintain himself in; abandon, the Throne. It is true, he was deserted by not only those, in whom he placed the greatest Confidence, but they also carried off with them his Forces: This Desertion was not however general, and he might, had not the Hand of God been in it, have found Friends enough, would he have exerted himself, to have made his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents repent the Undertaking, or at least have secured his Possession of the Crown, by a Treaty which would have quieted the Minds of the People, as I doubt not but his best Friends would have advised his agreeing to Terms, which would have put both our Religion and Liberties out of Danger of Subversion. Such indeed were offered us, by King *Charles* the Second, but they who find their private Advantage in publick Calamities rejected them, and would be satisfied with nothing but what the King declared he would never yield to, an Act of Exclusion.

King *James*, desponding, fled the Kingdom, the Throne was declar'd vacant; the Prince and Princess of *Orange* crowned and the Succession, in Remainder, settled on the Princess of *Orange*, tho' there was then a Prince

Prince of *Wales*, who has been since, as it suited with the Designs of a Party, lawfully born, and a supposititious Child. But as a parliamentary has been often declared the sole Right, I think the Legitimacy of this Birth is quite out of the Question, and none but a Madman will presume to dispute the Legality of that Power which transferred the Crown.

There were, at this Time, four Parties in the Kingdom. The Tories, or high Churchmen; the Whigs, or low Churchmen; the *Roman* Catholicks, or Papists, and the Non-jurors. The first of these were zealous Protectors of the Hierarchy, or the established Church: But the Whigs charged their Principles and Practice with Inconsistency as by the former, they acknowledge the Doctrine of Passive Obedience or Non-resistance, assert the Power of Sovereigns being from God, alone, to whom only, they are accountable for their Actions, and look upon a delegated conditional Power from the People, who may make them answerable for their Conduct, as an absurd Position. But in this they pretend the Law concurs with them, which allows none superior to the King; but then by the second, that is their Practice, they shew Resistance, if necessary, of which Necessity they make themselves the Judge, becomes lawful; of Consequence, say their Antagonists, they must have a divine Commission to sit and determine upon the Actions of their Sovereigns, and if they do  
not

not presume to pretend to such Commission; they must either admit that they usurp a Power they allow in God alone, or that they actually do not believe the Doctrine they profess.

The second Set of Men, distinguished by the Appellation of Whigs, assert that Princes are invested with a sovereign Power for the Good of the People, from whom they received it, and consequently on their abusing such Power to the Oppression, which was delegated for the Protection, of their Subjects, it is *eo instante* forfeited, and the People have an inherent Right, by the Law of Nature, to transfer the Sovereignty to another, who, they have Reason to believe, will employ it to the End for which it was designed, the Good of Society: for the Prince is no more than the Minister or Servant of his People. That a Right *jure Divino* is ridiculous; it is true indeed, the Scripture informs us, that God appointed *Saul* and *David* Kings over the *Jews*; but then it must be remembered it was in his Wrath, and that he let them know their King should be their Scourge, 1 *Sam.* viii. v. 11 to 19 inclusive. They admit also, that many have obtained sovereign Power by usurping on the Rights of the People, but when the Opportunity ever offered they never failed, to attempt the Recovery of them. But the Tories advise us to observe, that this Party are also Judges, nay sole Judges, when the People are, or are not oppressed; that is when it is

or is not lawful to resist or dethrone the Prince, and govern themselves in this, by an unalterable Maxim, viz. it is Treason to resist, if the Sovereign has the good Sense to share with them his Power, and put them in all the Posts of Trust, Power and Profit: But if he is so much wanting to his Interests as to depend on to the Counsels of such, as they are pleased to think their Enemies, or are not entirely agreeable to them; if he pretends to govern exclusive of their Advice, which are Signs of a total Incapacity to guide the Helm of Government, the Constitution is immediately in Danger; the Compact between the Prince and People is broken on his Side, and no longer binding on the other, consequently Resistance is become necessary: But these Gentlemen, say their Opponents, will not inform us when this Compact between King and People was entered into. They cannot call the Coronation Oath such, since it is a Maxim in our Laws, that the King never dies, and at the Demise of a Sovereign, the next Heir is, that Moment, King to all Intents and Purposes, and it is as much High Treason to take Arms against him, before, as after, his Coronation, as was evinced at the Death of *Edward* the Sixth, when the Crown devolved to *Queen Mary*, a Papist, whence the Tories aver they may justly conclude that the Oath taken by our Sovereigns, when they are crowned, is, *ex mera gratia*. It would also, say they, puzzle these Gentlemen to shew



shew when and where the People first divested themselves and transferred, the sovereign Power they enjoyed to a single Person or to a select Number; a Power of which no other Set of Men will allow they were ever possessed. The High Churchmen ask in whom was this transferrable Power lodged? In whom did it subsist? Was every individual invested with sovereign Power? If so, the World must have been in a State of Warfare, and every one being governed by his own Passions, could have no Views beyond the Gratification of them, consequently nothing less than a divine Inspiration could unite them in the Choice of a supreme Governor, to invest him with a coercive Power: And in such Case, these Gentlemen, the Whigs, must admit Monarchy, *ab Origine*, a divine Institution, which they the Tories insist on, and as such we are not to resist, if we believe the Apostle, who confirms that all Powers are from God, and our Duty to him inforces our Obedience to them, except in Cases of Necessity, the Nonjurors say without Reserve, for the Apostle makes no Exception. But to proceed with the Arguments of the Tories. Was this sovereign Power in the collective Body of any People? How was this Collective form'd? By what Motives were they prevailed upon to unite in one Body? How could that collected Body subsist, if not by the Institution of Laws, to restrain the Strong and protect the Weak? and neither this Union, nor Concurrence of the united Body to enact such Laws, cou'd enter

into the Thought of mere Man ; and thus insist, that all Powers, all Laws are from God ; this the others deny, and place the Original of all, as has been said, in the People ; they pretend that nothing is easier than to, naturally, account for, what the Tories attribute to a Miracle. Violence on the one hand, and Self-preservation on the others, was what first united some Families, for their mutual Defence ; to which other, from the same Motives joined themselves ; and thus gradually, and almost imperceptibly was formed a Body of People, who being taught by Experience, that it was impossible they could be kept together without some coercive Laws ; such were enacted for the Benefit of the Community, and thus, of every Individual, and the executive Power lodged in a single Person, or in a select Number ; in these two jointly, or continued in the People : Who as they multiplied, found it necessary to delegate their Power to Men, the most conspicuous among the different Families, or Tribes for their Virtues, as their Representatives ; and as this Power, whether in a single Person, or in a Number, was transferred by, for the Advantage of the People, whenever the Governor or Governors abused such Power, they broke the tacit Compact, upon which was founded the Peoples Obedience to them, consequently the Power again devolved on them to chuse one, who would better answer the End of Government, *viz.* the publick Good. That, indeed, as every thing is from God, so is the supreme Power,

Power, but then this of governing is mediately, thro' the People, consequently an indefeasible, hereditary Right is a ridiculous System, as it supposes the Lives and Fortunes of Millions, by a divine Decree, to be at the Disposal of perhaps the most weak and most cruel of the Society. While, say they, there is a Succession of virtuous Princes, in a Family, invested with the supreme Power, 'tis certainly for the Advantage of the Community not to break in upon it: But whenever any of its Descendents degenerate into Tyrants, it wou'd be denying Men the Use of Reason, to suppose a Passive Obedience, consonant with the Will of God, who is incapable of Cruelty towards his Creatures.

The Tories again endeavour to prove Government of divine Institution from that of the Patriarchs, every Master of a Family having a natural coercive Power over his Offspring, &c. but to quit these Arguments.

Tho' the Denomination of *Whig* included all Sectaries, nay even Deists and Atheists then called themselves such, yet 'tis certain the Tories were, of the two, at that Time, the more numerous Party. 'Tis observable that these Gentlemen differed also, essentially, from the others with respect to the publick Interest, which the History of those Times seem to prove the Tories had more at Heart; and while the Whigs, we may say from the then Writers, tolerated Monarchy, and the Established Church, the others zealously adhered to both, granting Occasional Resistance, allow-

ed by the latter, which accounts for the Duke of *Ormond's* voting for a King, after King *James* was withdrawn, fearing a Regent might pave the Way to a Republick.

The Principles of the Roman Catholicks I need not mention; and the Nonjurors differed from the Tories, in this single Point, only, of resisting in Cases of Necessity, which they will not admit, as none but a Party in Interest can be judge of that Necessity. Let a Prince be ever so great a Tyrant, they will allow no other Arms against him, than Prayers and Tears; for if God, as he often does, suffers wicked Princes, 'tis an Infliction that our Sins have merited, and if we resist, 'tis to our own Damnation, so firmly do they adhere to these Tenets, that they will, for no Prospect of Gain, take Oaths to the Government, (since the Revolution;) whence they have their Appellation, and would rather suffer any Hardships, than desert their Principles; as they will tell you, they dare not put the highest Affront upon the divine Majesty; attest the Almighty to their believing, what they really do not: A Crime one would think they deem irremissible. They look upon those as Schismatics who admit Resistance of their Sovereigns, even under the most tyrannical Persecution. This Party was and is held in the highest Contempt. Their Number and Interest is so inconsiderable, that they hardly deserve to be taken Notice of, if not for their passive Courage; for whatever Hardships they laboured under, there was none to interpose in  
their



their Favour, in which, the Roman Catholics had the Advantage of them, as our Allies are many of them of the Roman Church: And had their wished-for Restoration been effected, from the Example of the preceeding Reign, they had little Ground to hope their Adherence to the once Royal House of *Stuarts*, would entitle them to any Reward; wherefore 'tis evident that these were a Set of Men perversely obstinate, consequently very weak, or really conscientious, fixing their Views on future Recompence, looking beyond this Life, in which their Situation is far from being desirable.

The Whigs had the Art to ingratiate themselves with the new King, whom they persuaded that his prodigious Success was entirely owing to them, and I am well grounded, if I think it was chiefly, that Party which placed the Crown on his Head; but 'tis undeniable that it was with the Concurrence of the Tories; for in the Debate among the Lords whether, supposing the Crown vacant, if it ought to be filled up by a Regent or a King, they voted for a King; tho' the deposing Power was then so odious, as favouring of Popery, that among the Bishops, only those of *London* and *Bristol* gave into it: But whether or no they were the more active in making the Prince a King, when he was so, he found the Tories the better Subjects, as the former were for making him dependent, by granting his Revenues from Year to Year only, and by restraining his Power over the

Militia. They were jealous, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, of his growing arbitrary, if the Revenue was once settled on him, and that he would strain for a Pitch of Prerogative, as soon as he was out of Difficulties and Distresses. But, notwithstanding the Opinion of this right reverend Father of the Church, I am apt to think, from the known Conduct of the Whigs, they were less afraid of arbitrary Power, than of their being themselves out of all Power; for we have seen them, as well as the Tories, Advocates for and stretching the Prerogative while they had the Helm of Government in their Hands, tho' when out of Power, as violent for restraining it, and extending the Liberties of the People, at the Expence of the Rights of the Crown. Indeed Power seems, to me, to have been the Bone of Contention between the great Men of either Party, tho' of this Ambition, I believe even the Enemies of the Duke will acquit him. However dependent the Whigs were willing to keep the King, 'tis certain, the Tories were less complaisant to a *Dutch* Interest, than the Whigs, or, than the new Monarch might have wish'd them from that laudable Virtue, in a Prince, the Love of his Country. The Duke of *Ormonde*, than whom no Subject was more conspicuous, for this shining Virtue but too little known, among us, never lost Sight of either the Interests of the Nation, or of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and tho' the King had deserted himself, yet he

he without Distinction, as to the Person of the Prince, was always equally zealous for their Preservation, and for that of the Rights and Liberties of the People, each being kept from Encroachment on either Side, being the most probable Means to make the Interest and the People one and the same, which can alone make both happy. His Zeal for the established Church was too well known for me to mention. A Nobleman remarkable for his Disinterestedness and publick Spirit, possibly did not approve of the Affairs of the Nation being consulted among the *Dutch* Counsellors; he, as well as the People might not like to see our Money sent to *Holland*, or the Trade of the *United Provinces* rise upon the Ruins of that of *England*; he might not relish a Land War, being preferred to one at Sea, where alone we could make any Figure, or reap any Advantage; he might not be pleased to see her Majesty Queen *Mary* shut out of the Administration; he might disapprove the raising Money by Anticipation on the Revenue by large Premiums and at excessive Interest, or the taking up naval warlike Stores and Provisions, upon Credit, from Extortioners; he might be of Opinion, that the Neglect of protecting our Merchants from the Depredations made by Privateers enabled the *Dutch* to undersell them. And he was possibly dissatisfy'd with seeing the Nation mortgaged to Foreigners, *Jews* and

publick Plunderers; he might be averse to the seeing the *Irish* forfeited Estates, contrary to the King's Promise, not only given away, but to Strangers, while the *English* were groaning under the Weight of heavy, and almost daily increasing, Taxes, which I am apt to think some who have since been at the Helm, think good Policy rather to increase than diminish: He might disapprove of the *English* having the greater Burthen of the War thrown upon them by the *Spaniards*, the *Imperialists*, and the Princes of *Germany*, not furnishing their Quota's; he might dislike Place-men in the House of Commons, and approve of triennial Parliaments; in short, he might be against too great Encouragement to Sectaries, and might not look upon it the Interest of the established Church, that the Convocation was not suffered, to meet, while the Assembly of the Kirk in *Scotland* was allowed to sit, nay, and to insist on an inherent Right to meet and continue their Sessions till they dissolved themselves, without Regard to the regal Authority, and this without Censure; and think that taking any Steps toward altering the Constitution of the Church derogatory from its Dignity, and could plainly see that the Comprehension meant nothing less than the Establishment of Presbytery, in *England* as in *Scotland*, upon the Ruins of Episcopacy, where it was abolish'd and its Members not allowed a Toleration.

As the great and happy Event of the glorious



rious Revolution, the Blessings consequential of which will probably, be transmitted to late Posterity, raising the Hopes of the Presbyterians, who from the Court's Partiality in their Favour, had greatly extended their Views, must necessarily make them Enemies to the steady Sons of the established Church; 'tis nothing wonderful if they and Men of Republican Principles were no Friends to the Duke of *Ormonde*: But then he had staunch ones of all true Church-men, nay, many who differed from him in Opinion, with Regard to publick Affairs, could not but admire the Virtues of his private Life, for which his Memory will be revered, as long as Humanity, unbounded Generosity, and an intrepid Courage are numbered among those which make up the Character of a great good Man.

The Revolution which sent King *James* into Exile, was in great Measure owing to his own Conduct, tho' we have Reason to believe the Scheme was laid in the preceding Reign, for in 1674 a discontented Party in *England* held a Correspondence with the Prince of *Orange*, and it is suspected, that they designed to cause Insurrections in *England*, and to be assisted by the *Dutch* whose Fleet was to appear upon our Coasts; nay, when Sir *William Temple* felt the Prince's Pulse on the Subject, he was far from denying the Fact, but said, he could not betray those who professed to be his Friends, when the *English* Ambassador hinted it would be kind in his Highness to let his Master

Master know who were his Enemies; and while the Match between the Prince and Lady *Mary* was in Treaty, the Bill of Exclusion was warmly insisted on by one Party, and as resolutely opposed by the other. 'Tis also notorious, that the Presence of the Prince, in *England* gave fresh Spirit to the former: But whenever this Scheme was lain, or with whatever View it was perfected we do, and our Posterity will, enjoy the happy Effects as long as we are blessed with a Prince of the present royal Family to fill the Throne; consequently the Memory of the great Men who contributed to this happy Event must be dear to us, among whom the late Duke of *Ormonde* may be placed in the foremost Rank, consequently as one of the first in our Esteem. Even among such as ever declared themselves Enemies to the Revolution he has a Claim to their Regard, as none has shewn himself more an *Englishman*, having ever preferred the Publick, to whatever regarded his own private Interest; and as his universal Benevolence made him averse to all Persecutions, the *Roman* Catholicks and Non-jurors, themselves, ought to revere his Memory.

On the twenty-eighth of *November*, 1688. a Chapter of the most noble Order of the Garter being holden, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, together with the Duke of *Berwick*, was elected Knight Companion of that Order. In *November* following the Prince  
of

of *Orange* landing in the West (several Persons of Note going over to the Prince and a bloody Civil War beginning in the Bowels of the Nation, which in all Probability, by its being supported, on either Side, by the daily Arrival of fresh foreign Succours would be of long Duration, to our intire Ruin) most of the Protestant Lords spiritual and temporal, among whom was his Grace, met to consult on the most proper Means to avert the impending Evils ; to which End they thought none could be so conducive as a free Parliament being called, and some Treaty set on Foot between the King and the Prince of *Orange*, and resolved, in a Petition, to lay this their Opinion and humble Advice before his Majesty ; and tho' the King had declared, *he should take it highly ill of any Man, and esteem him his Enemy, who should advise his entering into Treaty with the Invader of his Kingdom ;* yet the two Archbishops, with the Bishops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, had the Courage to deliver a Petition of the above Tenor : To which his Majesty, some three Days after, gave a plausible but unsatisfactory Answer.

The King sat out, on the Seventeenth, attended by the Prince of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, &c. for, and arrived, the Nineteenth, at *Salisbury*, near which Place he had fixed the Rendezvous of his Army ; but being taught by the Desertion of the Persons, in whose Fidelity he thought he could place  
pend

an intire Confidence, that he could not depend on his Army, many of whom followed their Officers to the Prince of *Orange*, he, with some Precipitation, returned towards *Windsor*, and on the Road, had the Mortification to see himself deserted by the Prince of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, &c. who left him at *Andover*, and having joined the Prince at *Sherbourn* Castle, (from whence he sent forth his third Declaration,) entered *Salisbury* with him; from which City the Duke of *Ormonde*, with a Party of the Prince's Troops, went to *Oxford*, and caused his Declaration to be publicly read in that University; notwithstanding I do not any where find his Grace's Name among such of the Nobility as invited the Prince of *Orange* to enter upon an Invasion. It is foreign to my Subject to treat of this great and happy Event, more remarkable for its Success than that even of *Lisbon*, the *Portuguese* revolting against an usurped Power; whereas the Prince, who was thus easily driven from, had an undoubted Right to, the Throne of *Great Britain*.

On the Fifth of *April* 1689, his Grace was installed Knight and Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter, by the Duke of *Grafton* and Earl of *Rocheſter*, commissioned to perform that Ceremony in *St. George's* Chapel at *Windsor*, and in *May* following was one of the Knights in the Commission for installing Duke *Schomberg*.

After



After King *William* and Queen *Mary* were proclaimed, and the Privy-Council chosen, his Majesty named the great Officers of his Household, the Duke of *Ormonde* was made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber. The same Year he attended King *William* to *Ireland*, and was at the Breach of the *Boyne*, after which his Grace, accompanied by Monsieur *Overkirk* was sent, with nine Troops of Horse, to preserve the Quiet of *Dublin*, whether he was followed by the King, and on his removing Westward, was sent, by his Majesty, from *Carlow*, with a Party of Horse, to take Possession of *Kilkenny*, and to protect the Inhabitants of the Parts adjacent from the Depredations of the Enemy, where he splendidly entertained the King, who followed him, at the Castle, belonging to his Grace, which Count *Lauzun*, had generously protected from Plunder, and he not only found his Furniture untouched, but even his Cellars well stored with Wine. After the Campaign finished his Grace having, in Oc- 1691.  
tober 1690, been named one of the Privy-Council for *Ireland*, returned to *England*; in *January* 1691, attended his Majesty to *Holland*, and, at the *Hague*, where there was an extraordinary Meeting of the Confederates, many Princes being there in Person, to concert Measures with the King, his Grace was particularly remarkable for his Magnificence, as indeed he every- 1692.  
where, and always was.

King

King *James* intending to invade *England* sent over a Declaration, in which he set forth his Right, inviting all his Subjects to join him, on his landing, and promising a general Pardon to all, but the Persons therein excepted by Name, among whom was the Duke of *Ormonde*. One would have thought that the great Sufferings, and Service for, and to, the Royal Family, by the Grand-father and Father of his Grace, might have prevailed on his Majesty to have allowed him the Benefit of this promised Amnesty, especially considering the Cause, was that of Religion, which his Majesty openly endeavoured to subvert, and in the Defence of which, his Grace followed the Example set him by the King's own Children, who proved, by also deserting him, that it ought to be preferred to all Ties of Nature, Gratitude and Allegiance. The Duke, however, was in no great Danger of falling a Victim to the Resentment of the exiled Monarch, his Hopes being intirely blasted by the Ruin of the *French* Fleet, off *Cape Barfleur*, and at *La Hogue*. We were less fortunate in *Flanders*, where the *English*

1693. in particular lost a great Number of Men, at *Landen*; at which Place *Luxemburgh* forced the Camp of King *William* esteemed inaccessible. The wily *French* General making a Feint as if he would besiege *Liege* or *Maestricht*, having made himself Master of *Huy*, tho' his Design was to fight the Allies, was the Reason King *William*,  
who

who had before detached the Prince of *Wurtemberg* to force the *French* Lines which covered their Conquests, sent another Detachment of ten Battalions, to reinforce those Garrisons, which so greatly weakened his Army, that their Number was, at least one Third inferior to that of the *French*. The Battle was obstinately fought, and proved very bloody on both Sides; the Enemy lost a great Number of Men in the Attack, and the Allies not fewer after the Defeat. The King behaved with prodigious Gallantry, charging several Times at the Head of the Troops. The Duke of *Ormonde* charged at the Head of one of *Lumley's* Squadrons, and his Horse being shot under him, and himself wounded, a Soldier was on the Point of killing him, when one of the *French* King's Guards, seeing on his Finger a rich Diamond Ring, concluded him a Person of Distinction, and rescued him from the Danger. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Berwick* was made Prisoner by Brigadier *Churchil*. These two Noblemen were afterwards exchanged; the Duke of *Ormonde* was carried to *Namur*, where so much Care was taken of him, that he was soon out of Danger. The Misfortune of his Grace was a Blessing to a great many of the poor Prisoners of the allied Troops, who were confined in the same Town, as he distributed among them a considerable Sum of Money.

On the last Day of this Year, Prince *Lewis of Baden* landed at *Gravesend*, and had, on his

his Arrival in Town, an Apartment in *White-ball*, which was before fitted up for his Reception; he was here splendidly entertained and diverted by his Majesty, and by several of the Nobility, but the Magnificence with which he was received by the generous Duke of *Ormonde* eclipsed all that he had before seen. After a sumptuous Banquet there was a Ball, which was brightened by the Presence of the greatest Beauties of the *English* Court.

1694.      In the Beginning of this Year, the honourable *Charles Butler*, Esq; Brother to his Grace, was created a Baron of *England*, and Earl of *Arran* in *Ireland*. On

the Third of *April*, the King went  
1695.      to *Gravesend*, embarked on board the *William* and *Mary* Yacht for *Holland*, attended by the Duke of *Ormonde*, who commanded the second Troop of Guards. Though the last Campaign was in a Manner passed, by the Armies observing each other; the retaking *Huy* by the Confederates being the only Event worth Notice; that of this Year was remarkable for the taking *Namur*, our Fleet insulting the *French* Coast, and bombarding some Sea-Port Towns, and the *French* by Way of Reprisal bombarding *Brussels*. In the Siege of this strong Fortrefs, *Namur* commanded by a Marshal of *France*, and vainly endeavoured to be reliev'd by another Marshal, at the Head of an Army of a hundred thousand Men, the Duke was often exposed to the Fire of the Besieged, many being killed near him.  
When



When the *French* Garrison marched out of *Namure*, his Grace was in the Coach with the King, who, incognito, saw them pass.

His Majesty in his Progress, de- 1695.  
signing to make a Visit to the University of *Oxford*, his Grace set out to receive and compliment him, as Chancellor, to which Honour he was elected the Twenty-fifth of *July*, 1688, in the room of his Grandfather, and on the Twenty-third of *August*, was installed at his own House in *St. James's Square*.

On News of the King drawing toward the University, the Duke with the Vice-chancellor, the Doctors in their Habits, and the Magistrates of the City, went to some Distance to pay their Devoirs, and the respective Compliments of the University and City having been made to the King, they proceeded to the East-gate of the Schools; the Conduit of the City the whole Time pouring forth Wine.

His Majesty alighting, passed directly to the Theatre, where he was harangued by *Mr. Codrington* of *All Souls*, a Gentleman distinguished for his Learning and Genius, and for this Time supplied the Place of the University Orator, who happened to be indispos'd. The Chancellor made the King the usual Presents, viz. a large *English* Bible, and a Common Prayer-Book, the Cuts of the University, and a Pair of Gold fringed Gloves. A splendid Entertainment, and a fine Concert of Musick was provided to regale his Majesty, as they expected

he would do the University the Honour to stay Dinner; but, says *Boyer*, the Duke of *Ormond* having communicated to his Majesty a Letter addressed to his Grace, by a nameless Person, and dropt in the Street the Day before, wherein Information was given of a pretended Design to poison the King at the Entertainment; his Majesty, without reflecting on the Groundlessness of a Report, which was undoubtedly rais'd by his Enemies, resolved neither to eat nor drink, and immediately took Coach for *Windsor*, declaring as a Reason for his short Stay, and his not going to see the Colleges, that *this was a Visit of Kindness, not of Curiosity; having before seen the University.* This Compliment did not however, so qualify the seeming Contempt his Majesty express'd for the University, but that it was highly resented by that learned Body; and 'tis no Wonder that Men remarkable for enforcing their Precepts by their Example, should deem the suspecting them capable of a treacherous Murder, a very great Indignity put upon them, however they might be thought to stand affected to his Majesty's Person or Title.

Whoever considers the Partiality of this Reign to a *Dutch* Interest, the Influence of foreign Favourites on the one hand, and on the other the Duke of *Ormond's* Character, ever studious of the Honour and Welfare of his Country, above all fordid Views, and preferring the publick Good to every other Consideration, will not be surprized, that his Grace had in  
that

that Space of Time very few Opportunities offered him to become conspicuous: And if he was more distinguished by the *People* than many other of the *Nobility*, nay, I may say if he became their Darling, it must be attributed solely to the Knowledge they had of his disinterested Attachment to his Country; to the Proofs they had had of his personal Bravery; to that Magnificence with which he kept up the Dignity of an *English* Nobleman of the First Rank; to that Humanity and Generosity which Numbers daily experienced, all admired, and few equalled; to his Affability, Hospitality, Beneficence and an uncommon and natural Benevolence which inclined him to do good Offices to all who apply'd to him, for which many made him very ungrateful Returns, inverting the Christian Precept, and *returning Evil for Good*. However politically he might endeavour to conceal that Indignation which he could not but feel to see the Revenues of the Crown, and those Estates which were design'd, and the King promis'd should be apply'd, to ease the People loaden with Taxes, given to *Dutchmen*, honoured with *English* Titles, and voting in the *English* Senate; however, I say, he might think to stifle the Uneasiness, such a Procedure must necessarily cause, he either was not sufficiently Master of the Art of Dissimulation, or was, from his known publick Spirit, suppos'd discontented: A sufficient Reason for his

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not being regarded at Court in a Manner equal to his Birth, Rank and Merit.

Having mentioned the Gratuity conferred by the King on his Countrymen here in *England*, I shall beg Leave to digress for a few Lines, and to instance some Particulars. To Mynheer *Bentick* his Majesty granted out of the Demesnes of the Princes of *Wales* the Mannors of *Denby*, *Broomfield* and *Yale*, being no less than five Parts in six of a whole Country, of which most of the Gentry and the common People would have become his Subjects, had not the Commons interposing obtained of the King to recall his Grant; he had also 26480 Acres given him by his Majesty, out of the forfeited Estates in *Ireland*. This Gentleman was one of King *William's* first Privy Council, Groom of the Stole, and before the Coronation created Baron of *Cirencester*, Viscount *Woodstock*, and Earl of *Portland*. After the Peace of *Ryswick* the King sent his Lordship to *France* his Ambassador extraordinary, that he might do Honour to the *English* Nation, which could not afford a Native fit to appear in that high Capacity at a Court remarkable for Policy and Politeness.—To the Earl of *Albemarle*, another *Dutchman*, rais'd to the Peerage, and made a Knight of the Garter, to the Mortification of the *English* Nobility (says a certain Historian, alledging the Reason of this Disgust) his Majesty gave 135830 Acres of the said Estates. To the Earl of *Atblone*, a *Dutchman* also, 36148 Acres. I mention not that



that which his Majesty did for other Foreigners: neither shall I take other Notice of the Advantages the States General made by their sending one of their Subjects to be our King, as one of their Writers boasts \* than this, that they have so far engrossed our Herring Fishery on our Coasts, as in a Manner to exclude our own Subjects, which Branch alone I have been credibly informed pays the States, by the Tenth Fish, eight hundred thousand Pounds a Year Sterling; consequently their Subjects make of it eight Millions yearly, and for this they pay us no Acknowledgment, tho' they agreed to pay to former Kings of *England* one hundred thousand Pounds a Year for this Privilege. As to other Branches of Trade let the Merchants be asked How ours have fallen while the *Dutch* rose on its Ruins? They are the most immediately concerned, and the best able to inform us, tho' the Nation in general are made severely sensible of the Difference.

King *William* died on the Eighth of *March*, and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, was immediately proclaimed Queen, who soon after, by her Envoy at the *Hague*, recovered the *Dutch* from the Consternation they were struck with at the News of their having lost so powerful a Protector of, and Friend to, *Holland*, the Interest of which he steadily pur-

\* *Histoire Metallique.*

sued. The Queen promised, thereto excited by Addresses from both Houses, to adhere to the Alliances entered into by the late King, and to continue the Friendship existing.

King *William* had, in *Holland*, formed a Scheme to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, and to that End entered into Alliances, of which it is foreign to my Purpose to treat. I shall only observe that one of his Majesty's Designs was to besiege *Cadix*, by Sea and Land; and, that on this he had consulted the Duke of *Ormonde* and the Prince d'*Armstadt*; the latter had assured his Majesty, that the Amirante of *Castile*, and several other Grandees of *Spain*, with all their Dependents, would declare for the House of *Austria*. For the Execution of this Scheme his Majesty confiding in the Courage and Conduct of the Duke of *Ormonde*, made Choice of his Grace.

I will not say the Success of this Enterprize was very doubtful, but I think so very improbable, that few, however sanguine, could hope it; which made many of his Friends, when he was actually engaged in that Service, fear both for his Person and Reputation, knowing he would have too little Care of the former to support the latter; and doubt whether his Designation, by King *William*, was to do him Honour.

Among the first promoted by her Majesty, after her Accession, was the Duke of *Ormonde*, whom she declared Commander in Chief of all her Majesty's Land-Forces to be employed on board the Fleet.

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The War with *France*, having been resolv'd upon in the foregoing Reign, the Manner that the *English* should carry it on was debated in Council, Whether we ought, by furnishing our Quota of Troops to the *Dutch*, leaving them to the Defence of their own Country, employ our Naval Force, and carry on the War by Sea, which the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter* inſiſted was our Intereſt, as dear bought Experience has prov'd; or whether, we ſhould carry on the War chiefly in *Flanders*? Which latter Opinion, tho' evidently the worſe, prevail'd, and private Intereſt triumph'd over that of the Publick, tho' ſupported by much the leſs cogent Arguments.

The War was declared on the 1702. Fourth of *May*, and on the Twenty-fiſt, Sir *George Rooke* was declared, by her Maſteſty, Vice-Admiral of *England*. He was deſign'd to command the Fleet on the Expedition againſt *Cadiz*, projected by King *William*, as I have already ſhewn, and now, Preparations being made, determin'd to be put in Execution; in order to which, on the Twentieth of *April*, the Queen appointed his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, Commander in Chief of her Land-Forces, to be employ'd aboard her Fleet, as I have already ſaid. On the Thirtieth of *May*, Sir *George Rook*, on board the *Royal Sovereign*, having the *Union* Flag at the Main-top-Maſt Head, came to *Spithead*, together with Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*,

board the *Queen*, and the great Ships that lay at the *Nore*; at the same Time, Rear Admiral *Fairbone*, arrived there from *Ireland*, with a Squadron of Men of War under his Command, having on board four Regiments of Foot, who were to make Part of the Land-Forces. On the first of *June*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, Sir *Henry Belafis*, and Admiral *Churchill*, arrived at *Portsmouth*; and the next Day his Royal Highness Prince *George*, sat out for that Sea-Port, in order to take a View of her Majesty's Fleet, and of the Forces that were to serve on board, which lay encamped in the Isle of *Wight*. The same Day the *Queen* went from *St. James's* to *Windsor*.

On the Second of *June*, at Night, Prince *George* of *Denmark* arrived at *Portsmouth*, where he was received both by the Magistrates and the Governor of that Place, with all the Honour and Respect due to his royal Birth, his high Station, and as the dear Consort of her Majesty. The next Day his Royal Highness went to the Isle of *Wight*, reviewed the Forces encamped there, which he found in very good Order, (particularly the new raised Regiments of the Lord *Skaneon*, and Colonel *Fox*, who performed their Exercise incomparably well) and signalized his Presence amongst them by a particular Act of Mercy, being pleased to grant his Pardon, as Generalissimo, to three Deserters, who lay under Sentence of Death. The *Dutch* Forces on board the  
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*Dutch Squadron*, were, at the same Time, reviewed by his Royal Highness, who, on the Fourth, took a View of the whole Fleet, and honoured Sir *George Rook* with his Presence at Dinner, on board the *Royal Sovereign*. On the Fifth he reviewed the Dock and Harbour, and the next Day returned to *London*, where the Queen was arrived the Night before from *Windsor*.

The Twenty-fourth of *June* her Majesty appointed the Duke of *Ormonde* Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Somerset*.

On the First of *July*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, who was on board her Majesty's Ship the *Ranelagh*, set Sail with the Fleet, consisting of one hundred and fixty Ships under the Command of Sir *George Rook*. On the Eighth, the Fleet put into *Torbay*, having met with contrary Winds; on the Sixteenth, he was joined by a Fleet of Transports, and their Convoy; on the Seventeenth a Court-Martial was held, by which Lieutenant *Harris*, of Colonel *Fox's* Regiment, was found guilty of Mutiny, and received Sentence accordingly; on the Eighteenth, the Duke of *Ormond* sent a Warrant to the Keeper of *Dartmouth* Jail, for the securing Captain *Newey* till her Majesty's Pleasure was known; his Crime was, uttering scandalous Words against the Government. His Grace the Duke of *Ormonde* went on Shore, and reviewed the Officers, and whatever belonged to the Train of Artillery; on the Twenty-first the Duke  
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of *Ormonde* went again on Shore to see a Mortar tried; at Ten at Night the Fleet was under Sail. On the Seventh of *August*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, dispatched the *Isabella* Yacht, to *Lisbon*, in order to get Intelligence. On the Eighth, the whole Fleet made the Rock of *Lisbon*. On the Tenth, the *Adventure*, *Leostoff*, and *Lime* joined the Fleet again, on board the first of which, was the Prince of *Hesse d'Armstadt*, and in the *Leostoff*, Mr. *Methuen's* Son; the *Lime* informed them that she had left the *Isabella* Yatch, which was gone up the River to *Lisbon*, from whence they expected Advice by her.

A Council of War both of the Land and Sea Officers, being called on the Eleventh, that Night a Detachment of Grenadiers were put on board two or three Frigates, to be set on Shore, near *Rota*, on a Discovery. Next Day, in the Morning, the Cruisers brought into the Fleet three Tartans, which they had taken; and the *Isabella* Yatch returned from *Lisbon*, with Advice, that there were in that Harbour six *French* Men of War, and four Gallies, who asked the Governor leave to sink her Majesty's Ships the *Adventure* and *Leostoff*, but were answered, that as the *English* were not their Enemies they were obliged to protect them, being under their Canon; and that at the Approach of the Fleet, they fired two Guns from each Fort to give Notice to the Court. The same Morning Sir *George Rook* made his Signal to draw up in a Line of Battle;

tle; after which he steered away for *Cadiz*, which by Noon he had E by N, about six Leagues distant. About five in the Afternoon the Fleet anchored in the Bay of *Bulls*, in twelve Fathom Water, about two Leagues from *Cadiz*; *Rota* bearing N by E, and *Cadiz* E N E, and, at the same Time, they saw the *Granadoes*, Wind from the W N W, to the N E, with pleasant Weather. There was in the Bay, at Anchor, a *Genoese* Ship, whose Commander came aboard the *English* General, and his Grace also examined the Masters of the *Tartans*; that Night three of the *Triumph's* boats Crew were killed, and three more wounded by a *Spanish* Boat whom they attempted to Board.

On the thirteenth an Hour before Day, his Grace sent Sr. *Thomas Smith*, Quarter-Master general, with Col. *Carles*, chief of the Engineers, Monsieur *Nibolt* an Engineer, and Lieut. *Cows* of the *Ranelagh* to view the back-side of the Island of *Lyons*, to sound the Shoar, and find out the most convenient Place to make a Descent, between the Island of St. *Piedro*, and St. *Cadiz*. Sir *Thomas Smith* was in the twelve oar'd Boat, attended by the *Isabella* Yacht and two *Frigates* he found at his Arrival near the Island two hundred *Spanish* Horse, who marched along the Shoar as he rowed by; and Multitudes of Men, Women, and Children leaving the City of *Cadiz* in great Consternation. Both the Town and Battery fired several Shot at the *English*  
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but without hurting any Body, at his Return about three in the Afternoon, Sir *Thomas* gave his Grace an Account that there was one large and two little Bays very proper to make a Descent.

In the Morning a Council of War of general Sea and Land Officers was held, on Board the *Royal Sovereign*, wherein his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* was of Opinion to land immediately in the Island of *Lyons*, the better to take an Advantage of the Fright and Disorder into which the sudden Arrival of the confederate Fleet had cast the City of *Cadiz*. But upon a Reconsideration of Sr. *George Rook's* Instructions, the Advices and Intelligences they had from Mr. *Methuen* and the Prince of *Hesse D. Armstadt*, and the concurring Informations they had received from several Fishermen, taken on the Coast, from which it might be reasonable to conclude that the Enemy had about four thousand disciplined Troops in the Town of *Cadiz* beside *Burghers*, and one hundred Horse of Old Troops, besides the Militia for the Guard of the Coast; and in regard the Fleet could give no other Assistance to the Disembarkment, then covering the Forces, in their Landing, and Bombarding the Town; and the Impossibility of supplying the Forces from the Fleet, in blowing Weather, it was judged impracticable to attempt the Island of *Cadiz* immediately in

\* Mr. *Methuen's* Letter.



these Circumstances: But in Consideration that the taking the Fort St. *Catalina*, and Port St. *Maria*, might facilitate the Access of the Fleet into the Harbour, and their annoying the Town with our Bombs; getting of better Intelligence of their Condition; supplying the Fleet with Water, which they began to be in want of; and trying the Affections and Inclinations of the People of the Country to the House of *Austria*; it was resolved to land the Forces in the Bay of *Bulls* in order to reduce the foresaid Fort and Town, and upon the Success of this Attempt it might be considered what was farther to be done in Prosecution of her Majesty's Instructions and that his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, should send a Summons to surrender to the House of *Austria*.

The same Day the Duke of *Ormond*'s Pardon, was sent to Lieut. *Harris*, who lay under Sentence of Death, and his Grace did likewise order, that the two Deserters of the Earl of *Donnegal*'s Regiment: should be no farther prosecuted.

At three a Clock in the Afternoon a Boat was sent to *Cadiz* with a Flag of Truce and some Declarations; and his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* wrote a Letter to the Governour of that Place, with whom he had been acquainted in the late Wars in *Flanders*, to invite him to surrender. The Governour return'd a civil Answer, signifying that he was much obliged to his Grace for his good Opinion of him, and his Services in *Flanders*, and hoped he should do nothing to forfeit the same, nor against the  
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Trust the King his Master had reposed in him. Upon this Answer preparations were made for a Descent. At five the Fleet came to an Anchor in ten fathom Water, *Rota* bearing N by E, and St. *Sebastian* SE by S about three Miles off Shore, that Evening Sir *George Rooke*, made a Signal for a general Council of War, and on the fourteenth in the Morning, a Signal for the Flag Officers only. On the fifteenth the Forces began to land, the follow Instructions having been given by the General for the Descent.

1. That the several Companies of Grenadiers, should rendezvous in the Boats, that should be appointed for them at Break of Day the fifteenth of *August* at the Head of the *Ranelagh*, where they should receive farther Orders from Brigadier *Palandt*, and the Lord *Donegal*, who were appointed to command them.
2. That the Grenadiers should be sustained by the Guards, *Bellasis*, *Seymour*, *Churchill*, and *Torcy's* Regiments who were commanded by Sir Henry *Bellasis*, Lord *Pertmore*, Baron *Sparr*, and Brigadier *Mathews*.
3. That the Masters of the Transports should give two full Days Provision of Bread, Cheese, and Beer, for each Man.
4. That a Surgeon with Medicines be taken with each Battalion.
5. That an Officer of the Artillery, be at the Rear of each Regiment with twenty *Chevaux de Frises*, where the Quarter-Master of that Regiment must be ready to receive them, and the same for the Grenadiers

Grenadiers. 6. That no Drum beat or Colours fly, but in the Boat of the general Officer, who commands the Line, and when the Drum beats, the Line shall row, and when it ceased lie upon their Oars. 7. That no Soldier fire upon Pain of Death, while he was in the Boat, nor unshoulder his Musket, when landed, that none should stir out of his Rank upon Pain of Death. 9. That the first Line should be at the Head of the *Ranelagh* at farthest by Break of Day. 10. That as soon as the second Line consisting of the Regiments of *Columbine, Hara, Earl, Hamilton, Fox*, and two Battalions of *Swansbelt*, should be in the Boats, they should immediately parade at the *Isabella* Yacht, which should be at the Head of all the Transports next the Shore, and there receive the Orders of Sir *Charles Hara*, and Brigadier *Hamilton*: And lastly, That the third Line, consisting of the Regiments of the Lord *Donegal, Charlemont, Shanon*, and two Battalions of *St. Amand's*, and the Pioniers should parade at the same Place, and there receive Orders from Brigadier *Lloyd*, in the Absence of Brigadier *Seymour*.

This Disposition for the Descent being agreed on, twelve hundred Grenadiers ordered to land first, about Four in the Morning all the Boats in the Fleet, were employed to haul them into, the rest of the Forces, which rendezvoused together in the Boats, near the Shore, and which were placed in order by his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, who was then  
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in his Barge on the Right, with the *English* Flag; and Baron *Sparr* in his, with the *Emperor's*. The Grenadiers led the Van, and landed in the Bay of *Bulls*, between *Rota* and *St. Catherine's* Fort, in *Andalusia*, tho' with much Difficulty, the Wind being so boisterous, and the Sea so swoln that near thirty Boats were overset, and several Men drowned; many of the Infantry being obliged to swim on Shore, and others to wade up to the Neck. No sooner were about eighty Grenadiers, commanded by Colonel *Pierce*, landed, but they were briskly charged Sword-in-Hand, by a *Spanish* General Officer, at the Head of a Handful of resolute Troopers who were so warmly received, by the *English*, that the former soon retreated; leaving their Commander, with five of his Men dead on the Place, and several Horses, besides a Captain and Cornet who were wounded and taken Prisoners: The *English* having had only one Man wounded in the Skirmish, which Success favoured the Landing of the Rest of the Forces.

The *Spaniards* had near the Waterside a Battery of four Guns, from which they fired with little Success, and which they quitted at the Approach of the *Dutch*; dismounting the Guns, and nailing them up: But they were more troublesome from *St. Catherine's* Fort, whose Canon killed two and wounded three of the Confederates. Notwithstanding, her Majesty's Ship the *Lenox*, Captain *Jumper*,



*per*; Commander, and another Frigate, fired briskly against it all the while.

The Forces being landed, and the *Dutch* having made themselves Masters of the Enemy's Battery; Baron *Sparr* dispatched an Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Ormond*, to tell his Grace, that if he would send him a Reinforcement of 200 Men; he would go and make himself Master of *Rota*. The Duke not thinking such a Number sufficient to take that Place, which he rightly judged to be of the last Importance, to secure his Retreat; his Grace directed Baron *Sparr* to march on towards it, and acquainted him that he would follow with the rest of the Army. Accordingly both the *English* and *Dutch* march'd that Evening and lay all Night on their Arms (as did the Duke of *Ormond* on the Ground) about two Miles short of the Town. At the Place where they halted, a Grenadier of the Guards, who had killed that Morning the *Spanish* Commander, being admitted to the Duke's Presence while he was at Supper, presented his Grace with the Ring, which the *Spaniard* wore on his Finger; but his Grace having looked upon it, not only returned it to the Soldier, and bad him keep it, but pulling some Pieces of Gold out of his Pocket, gave them him as a farther Encouragement. The next Day the Forces continued their March; but before they reached *Rota* the *Alcade*, or chief Magistrate of that Place, accompanied with some other being come to surrender it,

100 Grenadiers were detached to take Possession; and his Grace having chosen his Quarters in the Castle, the Army encamped before the Town.

His Grace on his first coming on the *Spanish* Coast, publish'd a Declaration, dated *August 21, N. S.* setting forth that her Majesty the *Queen of Great Britain*, having been pleased to give him the Command of the Forces which her Majesty had joined with those of the *States-General*, for asserting the Rights of the House of *Austria*, in pursuance of their Treaties of Alliance with the Emperor, his Grace judged it necessary, before he made use of the said Forces, to declare that he did not come thither to possess himself of any Place of the *Spanish* Monarchy in the Name of her Majesty, or the *States General of the United Provinces*, or to introduce therein the usual Troubles and Calamities of War by way of Conquest; but rather to defend the good and loyal Subjects of the said Monarchy, and to free them from the insupportable Slavery, to which they were brought by being sold to *France* by some disaffected Persons; wherefore the Design of her Majesty and the *States General*, being only to assert the Rights of the House of *Austria*, his Grace declared, that all good *Spaniards* who should not oppose his Forces should be protected, in their Persons, Estates, Privileges, Religion, &c. but if contrary to Expectation, they did not concur with her Majesty's and the *States* good Intentions,

tentions, his Grace took God to witness, that then the Hostilities committed by the Troops under his Command, must be lain on the *Spaniards* themselves, who having so fair an Opportunity to shew their Loyalty, and follow the Motives of their Obligations and Interest, refused to embrace it.

The Prince of *Hesse d'Armstadt* did also publish a Declaration in the Emperor's Name, and sent it to *Cadiz* and several other Places, to be distributed among the People, causing at the same Time the imperial Standard to be set up. On the other hand, the Duke of *Ormond* sent a Letter to *Port St. Mary's*, whose Governor return'd a rude and unbecoming Answer in a Paper unseal'd, and no Name subscrib'd, in these Words in *Spanish*; *Nos otros Espanoles no Mudamos de Religion, ni de Rey*; that is, *We Spaniards neither change our Religion nor King*. Another Passage worth Remark happened at *Rota*: There was an *Irishman* settled in that Place, who in King *James's* Reign had been either a Factor or Consul for the *English*; this Man under Pretence of Friendship to his Countrymen, entertained several inferior Officers, &c. at his House; but being a strong Papist, and desirous to see this Expedition miscarry, he at the same Time endeavoured to terrify them, by asserting that the *Spaniards* would soon fall upon them with 40,000 Men. The Duke of *Ormond* being informed of these dangerous Insinuations, caused him immediately to be taken up, and

sent on board his own Ship the *Ranelagh*, nor would his Grace give Admittance to two fair Virgins, the *Irishman's* Daughters, who with Tears in their Eyes came to beg their Father's Release, lest their Beauty should tempt him to break his own Orders, which were, that he should remain in Custody till the Fleet departed.

The Duke having staid at *Rota* till the 20th, and by this Time the Dragoons and Train Horses, with four Field Pieces, two Battering Pieces, four Mortars, and the Ammunition being landed, his Grace left there a Garrison of 300 Men, under the Command of Colonel *Newton*; and having ordered the Colonels of the respective Regiments to acquaint their Men that the Provost Marshal would be sent out to hang all such as should be found to maraud from the Army, or plunder either in March or in Camp; in the Evening he himself marched with the Army towards Port *St. Mary*. About 11 at Night a Party of *Spanish* Horse, who lay in Ambuscade at a Pass, fired briskly on the Confederates advanced Guard, but without doing them any Damage, except killing Colonel *Gore's* Horse under him. Upon the Grenadier's advancing, the *Spaniards* quitted their Post, and the Army lay on their Arms at the Pass till the Morning, and then marched forward, though with incredible Difficulty, by reason of the immense and scorching Heat of the Sun, and the Want of Provisions. Some Squadrons of *Spanish* Horse, consist-



consisting of about 600 Men, made a faint Shew of opposing their March; but as the Confederates advanced the others retreated, till the first arrived at Port *St. Mary*, which they found deserted by the major Part of the Inhabitants; there were indeed about 200 Soldiers, who betook themselves to a strong House, and stood to their Arms till the *English* drew up, designing to set Fire to it and give no Quarter; which the *Spaniards* perceiving surrendered themselves Prisoners at Discretion; and some others who endeavouring to escape over the River in Boats, were shot in landing.

While the Land Forces were marching to Port *St. Mary*, a Council of War of Flag-Officers was held on board the *Liberty*, wherein were present Vice-Admiral *Hopson*, Rear-Admiral *Graydon*, Capt. *Leigh*, Lieutenant-Admiral *Allemond*, Admiral *Callenburgh*, Vice-Admiral *Vandergaes*, and Vice-Admiral *Pieter-son*. In this Council, upon a farther Consideration, how the Bombardment of *Cadiz*, pursuant to the last Resolution of the Council of Flag-Officers of the 15th of that Month, might be most effectually put in Execution; it was agreed and resolved that a Squadron of 10 *English* and 6 *Dutch* Ships of War, with small Frigates, Fire-ships and Bomb-Vessels in the Fleet should be appointed to perform this Service, as soon as Fort *Catalina* was taken; but if the Wind should then prove Easterly, to prevent the said Squadrons getting into the

Bay, it was resolved to bombard the Town, on the Side lying between the *Portugueze* and *St. Sebastian*. It was also agreed that if the Duke of *Ormond* should think it better for the Service to forbear bombarding *Cadix*, till the Army was marched on *Port Royal* Side, that the same should be observed accordingly.

On the 22d of *Aug.* a Summons was sent to the Garrison of *St. Katharine's* Fort, to which the Commander made Answer, that he would defend his Post to the last Drop of his Blood; and would cause the first *Englishman* that should fall into his Hands to be hanged; but notwithstanding this *Rodomontade*, upon the Approach of a Detachment from the Confederate Army, with two Field Pieces, he made his Escape in a Boat, and committed the Defence of the Fort to an Ensign, who being given to understand that if he did not immediately surrender he must expect no Quarter, consented to be made Prisoner of War and 40 of his Men.

Though before the Army had reach'd *Port St. Mary*, the Duke of *Ormond* had given strict Orders against plundering, yet it was not in the Power of the Officers to contain their famished and thirsty Soldiers from forcing open the Houses, where they expected to find Refreshment; nor was it long before they found out Cellars plentifully stored with rich and strong Wines, where they quaffed and carouzed all the first Night. The next Day their Licentiousness being heightened by the

the Fumes of the Liquor, they proceeded to rifle and pillage the Houses in a most outrageous Manner; not contenting themselves to take Moveables, but breaking and spoiling what they could not carry away. Now because this Booty had been of no Use to them, unless they could secure it on board the Fleet, they called the Seamen to their Assistance, who from Seconds, immediately became Principals, and pillaged whatever they could lay Hands on, with more Eagerness than the others. Nor did the Plundering stop here; for the Officers of the Army themselves thought it Prudence to share the Sweetness and Profit of a Misdemeanor, which they could not hinder; nay, some went so far as to think themselves intitled by their eminent Stations, to engross the greatest Part of the Booty; for which Purpose they set Guards on the Avenues of Port *St. Mary*, and stopt all the meaner Sort that were carrying Goods to the Fleet, with which they stored their own Magazines, and which they afterwards retailed for ready Money. Some Churches fared no better than private Houses, being despoiled of their Plate and most precious Ornaments; nay, 'tis said that they abstain'd not from Rapes, and that some Nuns were ravish'd in their Cloyster, with which when the Duke of *Ormond* was acquainted (for he was not yet come to Port *St. Mary*) he ordered Sir *Henry Bellasis* and Sir *Charles Hara*, who commanded the Troops

which took Possession of the Place, to be put under Arrest.

The Damage done to this City (one of the best built, best furnished, and wealthiest in all *Spain*) was modestly computed at three Millions Sterling; though the Confederates were not one third Part of that Sum the better. These Hostilities so enraged the *Spaniards*, that many who before designed, now declined to join the Confederates, and his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* so highly resented the Breach of his Commands, that it's not surprizing Sir *Henry Bellasys* and Sir *Charles Hara* were put under Arrest.

On the 24th of *August* a Council of War of Sea and Land Officers was held at *Fort St. Katherine*, wherein were present his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *Henry Bellasys*, Baron *Spar*, Sir *Charles Hara*, Brigadier *Palants*, Brigadier *Mathews*, Brigadier *Seymour*, Lieutenant-Admiral *Allamond*, Admiral *Callemburgh*, Vice-Admiral *Hopson*, Vice-Admiral *Vandergoes*, Vice-Admiral *Pieterfon*, Sir *Stafford Fairborn*, Rear-Admiral *Graydon*, and Capt. *Legg*. In this Council, upon Consideration, that pursuant to the last Council of General Officers of the 13th Instant, *Fort Sta Cataline* and *Port Sta Maria* were reduced, which gave a Passage to the Fleets going on to the Bay of *Cadiz*, and an Opportunity of watering in the Bay of *Bulls* with more Ease and Security; as also to what was farther to be done towards reducing the Town of *Cadiz*,  
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it was resolved, that if the Army could take the *Matagorda*, that then a Frigate or two should be sent in to pass the *Puntals*; and if they found that Channel clear, that more Ships be ordered in to destroy the *French* Ships and Gallies; upon which Resolution the Rear-Admirals, *Fairborn*, *Wafenair* and *Graydon*, were ordered to see, if it was practicable to transport the Troops from the River of Port *St. Mary*, to the Neck of Land that goes to *Matagorda*. Pursuant to this Order the three fore-mentioned Rear-Admirals, went that Afternoon in their Boats to make their Observations of the Shore along towards *Matagorda*, and being returned, acquainted his Grace by Letter, that by the Shallowness of the Water they found it not practicable for their Ships to cover any Descent made that Way by the Army, there being above a Mile by Foot at low Water; that it was all along a hard Sand; and that the Engineers were of Opinion that the Cannon could not be got out there.

The next Morning they went a second Time to view the River *Xeres*, it being pretty near High Water; and then sent his Grace an Account that they were in the Mouth of the River where they had 10 Foot Water, that this River was navigable for all their Boats, and as far as they could see they reckoned it about a Quarter of a Mile broad, that the Shore on the Side of *Matagorda* appeared to be a hard Sand, and the Bank a deep Covert  
enough

enough for the Foot; but they could not see how far the Banks reached on that Side towards the Ships of the Enemy, the Land seeming too narrow in that Part; so that they reckoned themselves not much out of the Shot of the Guns from the Ships that lay in *Port Royal* Creek. That it ought to be considered that if the Wind blows westerly, there runs too great a Sea to Land; and with the Wind easterly all that Day, Boats laden with Men cannot row to Windward, so that they must wait for fair Weather or a Calm, concluding that Monsieur *Cacles* had been along with them and was gone again with a Master of Mines to observe a little better the Situation of the Castles, and would make his Report to his Grace.

The Garrison of *Cadix* having by this Time recovered their Alarms, and sunk three Gallions at the Entrance of their Harbour, called the *Puntals*, to prevent the Confederate Fleet going into it, and the Marquis de *Villadarias*, Governor of *Andalusia*, having vastly increased his Army, and often drawing up between *Xeres* and *Port St. Mary*, the Duke of *Ormond* march'd with the Forces out of the latter Place on the 25th, and encamped at *Sancta Victoria*, where his Grace took up his Quarters in a Cloyster, and the next Day caused his Declaration to be solemnly read through the Town at the Head of every Regiment, whereby he forbid plundering upon Pain of Death.

On the 27th a Letter was sent by Sir *Stafford*

*ford Fairborn* to the Duke of Ormond; acquainting his Grace that Admiral *Allamond* desired a Council of War at Fort *Santa Catalina* of Sea and Land Officers, to which his Grace immediately agreed. After many Debates it was resolved at last to go upon the former Resolution of the Council of War, and endeavour to take the *Matagorda*; and in order to it six Long Boats, and three Pinnaces for the Infantry, and two Field Pieces, were directed to march with Baron *Sparr*, with three Long Boats to pass the two Field Pieces, and 14 Horses to draw them; and that the Boats mentioned, be early next Morning ready to come to Port *St. Mary*.

Accordingly on the 28th of *August* Baron *Sparr*, with a Detachment of 2400 Men, *English* and *Dutch*, marched against the *Matagorda*; and his Grace dispatched his Letters from *Santa Victoria* by the *Dunwich*, both to his Royal Highness and the Earl of *Nottingham*, wherein he gave them an Account of his Proceedings; and amongst other Things acquainted the latter, that his Grace was for landing on the Backside of the Island of *Cadix*, and that now some of the Sea Officers thought that he was not in the wrong; that he was sure there was no Likelihood of getting into the Island any other Way; the Weather being so violent hot, that he could not march for want of Horses and Carriages to ease the Officers and Soldiers who had no Way of carrying their Provisions but upon their Backs. That  
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the Enemy had about 700 Horse, and kept within less than half a Mile of the Confederates advanced Guards, who when they tried to attack them, immediately retired, and it being an open Country there was no coming at them with Foot; that two Pieces of heavy Cannon, with Ammunition proportionable, was all that he could march with at a Time; that he did not see his Declarations did the Confederates any Good: Some of the poor People that receiv'd them having been hang'd for delivering them, and the General of the Coast having set out a Proclamation to forbid any *Spaniard* to have Communication with the Confederates upon Pain of Death, so that all the Towns the Land Forces came to were abandoned, which was of very ill Consequence; for the Soldiers finding the Houses furnished, and Wines in the Cellars, committed Disorders that could not be prevented.

The same Day the Duke of *Ormond* receiv'd a Letter from Admiral *Hopson*, importing, that Sir *George Rook* (having that Morning receiv'd a Letter from Sir *Stafford Fairborn*) had commanded him (Admiral *Hopson*) to give his Grace his Opinion that the taking of *Mata-gorda* Fort would not at all facilitate their Entrance into the *Puntals* with their Ships; in regard they must have both Sides clear, and a considerable Time to work away the sunken Ships, and other Impediments the Enemy had lain in their Way; neither would it, in his Opinion,



Opinion, contribute any Thing to the main Service of reducing the Town which nothing, he thought, could bring to a Period, but the landing a considerable Part of the Forces in the Island, to keep those in the Town, who with the Fright of a Bombardment, would desert it; and whose Clamours joined with the Power of those who might be affected to the Confederates Cause, might possibly oblige the Governor to a Capitulation; though if the ill Treatment of their Friends and the plundering the Effects at Port *St. Mary's* contrary to his Grace's Declaration, and all Faith and Justice, had reached their Ears, his Grace must expect they would all join as one Man, and oppose every Attempt that should be made upon them by his Grace or the Fleet.

In answer to this Letter, the Duke of *Ormond* wrote to Sir *George Rook*, that his Opinion was, that the rest of the Army should march to endeavour to possess themselves of the *Matagorda*, and from thence to *St. Pedro*, where his Grace design'd, if Sir *George* could furnish him with Boats to make a Bridge over into the Island of *Cadiz*, and with all furnish them with necessary Provisions there, to which his Grace desired the Admirals speedy Answer.

Thereupon a Council of the Flag Officers was immediately called, wherein it was resolved, that they should send to the River at *St. Pedro* as many long Boats as would compleat a Bridge for transporting the Army, with such

such a Quantity of Provisions for the Army as his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* should desire, as soon as the Army should be at that Place to support and make use of the said Boats; and that each Boat should carry 10 Deal Boards, and a Carpenter to make them useful for that Purpose. The same Day the Duke of *Ormond* went to view the Forces under Baron *Sparr*, and found them breaking Ground within half a Mile of the *Matagorda* Fort.

On the 1st of *September*, at a Council of War of General Officers, held at *Santa Victoria*, it was agreed, that the following Proposal should be sent to the Admiral, that in case the Admiral should come to *Port Royal* and upon trying to pass into the Island, between the Bridge of *Suaco*, and *St. Pedro*, should find that impracticable, and that the Army should be obliged to come to the Mouth of the River *Xeres*, where Baron *Sparr* debarked on board the Fleet, whether any one of the Admirals would undertake to carry them thither.

The same Day the Duke of *Ormond* wrote to the Earl of *Nottingham*, and amongst other Things told him, that they wanted Horses extremely; that the Sea Officers (whom they were most to rely on, for their knowing the Place) differed very much in their Opinion; and that he thought there would be many Difficulties before he left *England*, and did not find them lessened at all since his Landing.

On the 2d of *September* Brigadier *Seymour*, having delivered to Sir *George Rook* the Land Officers Proposal, a Council of Flag-Officers was immediately called on board the *Royal Sovereign*. Their Opinion was, that if the Winds came out, as might be expected from the approaching Season of the Year, on the Sun's passing the *Equator*, that neither the Horse nor Artillery could be embarked from the Mouth of the River *Xeres* on Port *St. Mary's*; without the greatest Hazard and Difficulties; but they judged by the Convenience of the Mold at *Rota*, that that Place might be the safest and properest for embarking the said Horse and Artillery: And they also judged an Undertaking of this Kind to be foreign from the Business of any Admiral, doubting that whenever bad Weather happened, they would have more than sufficient Employment to perform their Duty in securing their respective Squadrons and Divisions; though if the Weather was fair when the Embarkation was made, there should be a Flag-Officer and Captain ordered to advise and assist in that Service. The same Day his Grace viewed once more the Trenches before the *Matagorda*, against which the Engineers began to play with a Battery of four Guns, and a Detachment of 800 Men was sent to reinforce Baron *Sparr*.

On the 3d of *September* at a Council of Land General Officers, it was resolved that a Copy of Yesterday's Council of War of Flag-Officers

Officers should be sent to Baron *Sparr*; upon which Resolution of theirs it was not thought fitting the Army should march from *Santa Victoria* till the *Matagorda* was taken.

The Governor of *Cadiz* rightly conjecturing that the Preservation of that City did in a Manner depend upon the keeping the *Matagorda*, put the most resolute of his Men into it; and at the same Time eight *French* Gallies, and three *French*, and four *Spanish* Men of War, kept a continual Fire with near 100 Cannon on the Trenches of the Allies, which were two Foot deep in Mud and Water. Besides these Difficulties, the Battery of the Confederates, which was raised on a Morass (without any *Madrires* or Fascines to support it) happening to sink, and the Engineers having declared that they could not carry on the Attack with Success, it was thought fit to retire with the Loss only of 32 Men killed and 33 wounded.

The same Day (being the 5th of *September*) a Party of *Spanish* Horse made bold to attack a small Party of *English* Dragoons, who behaved themselves so gallantly, that they put the Enemy to Flight, having wounded and taken one Officer and two Men, with their Horses; and on our Side we had a Cornet and a private Man killed, and a Lieutenant taken, whom the *Spaniards* against all the Laws of Nations and Arms, most barbarously cut in Pieces.



The 6th of *September* Baron *Sparr* with his Detachment retired to the General Quarters at *Santa Victoria*, having first set Fire to the Magazine at *Port Royal*; and two Persons were arrived from *Madrid*, by the Way of *Faros* in *Portugal*, with Advice, that the *Admirante* of *Castile*, and several other *Grandeess* of *Spain*, with their Retainers, were ready to declare for the Emperor, and the three Ambassadors from the Emperor of *Morocco*, were arrived to offer his Grace their Master's Assistance, on Condition that the Kingdom of *Grenada* should be yielded to the *Moors*; yet little Dependance being to be made on the first, and the Terms of the latter not to be accepted; besides, the *Spanish* Army increasing apace, many of the Confederates dying daily of the Bloody Flux, Provisions growing scarce with the rest, and the Admiral alleging, that the Season was so far advanced that he could not tarry much longer in those Seas without apparent Danger to her Majesty's Navy. All these Reasons, I say, being considered, his Grace (tho' other ways willing to winter in *Spain*, and not to return home without having done some signal Action) was forced to comply with Necessity: And with a deep Concern, which visibly prey'd on his generous Spirit, to give his Orders for a Retreat. Accordingly on the 12th of *September*, the Land Forces struck their Tents, and lay on their Arms, which being observed by the Enemy, they drew up as if they would attack

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the Confederates, who standing firm to receive them, the *Spaniards* contented themselves with making several Random Shots at them, two of which wounded one Mr. *la Rabiniere*, the Lord *Shanon's* Lieutenant-Colonel, and the other Capt. *Davenish*. The next Day in the Morning the Confederates began their March from *Santa Victoria* towards *Rota*, the *Spaniards* keeping them Company all the Way, and firing many small Shot amongst them, but to no Effect; and though they had 1200 Horse, and Foot in Proportion, yet the Disposition made by his Grace was so good that it struck a Terror into them, and made them keep at a Distance. About ten o'Clock, as the Confederates marched, a Signal was given by which *St. Katherine's* Fort was blown up and entirely demolished (the Brass Guns having been taken away, and the rest spiked up) and about Four in the Afternoon, after a resolute March, his Grace, with the Army, arrived at *Rota*, without the Loss of one Man, though many fainted and tired by the Way, who were carried off in Boats. Marching along the Strand at *Rota*, his Grace was receiv'd by Colonel *Newton*, who with his Garrison of 300 Men, had very well barricaded the Avenues, but nevertheless was often alarmed by the Enemy.

The 14th and 15th were spent in shipping off Part of the Forces; and on the 16th over Night Orders were given that the Boats from the Fleet should rendezvous at *Rota* by Break  
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of Day, which was the Time of Flood, to take on board the Remainder of the Army; that the youngest Regiment should march first, that the Rear Guard should be composed of the *English* Grenadiers, commanded by Colonel *Fox*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Pierce*, and Major *Negus*; and that the Company of Grenadiers of the Guards that were posted at the Wind-mill should close the Rear, and as they marched make good the Batteries, and set Fire to all the combustible Stuff they should find on purpose to cover their Retreat.

The 17th towards Noon, the Army being near embarked, Orders were sent to Colonel *Fox* to form the Rear-Guard and march, which was soon done: And after halting a little while in the Street for Colonel *Pierce*, who was posted just without the Town, they then continued their March till they came to the nearest Place, where they were forced to stay about an Hour, till the rest of the Troops were aboard. During this second Halt, Colonel *Fox* had Notice sent him, that the *Spaniards* were forcing through the Barrier at *St. Lucas* Port, which Colonel *Rook* (whose Desire it was to stay with the Rear-Guard) perceiving he immediately got Leave of Baron *Sparr* to head a Party of the *Dutch* that happened not to be marched, and to be nearest the Port. No sooner had the *Hollanders* made their Discharge, but the Enemy gave Way; and just as Colonel *Rook* had got to the Port he met Colonel *Pierce* with another Detach-

ment from the Duke of *Ormond* to sustain him : Thereupon Colonel *Pierce* ordered his Men to climb to the Top of the Port to clear the Street on the other Side, which they did effectually, and regained the Barrier, whilst the *Dutch* marched down to the Water-side to embark, and the rest to join Col. *Fox* in the Rear. In this Dispute there was only five Soldiers killed, and as many wounded (with the Splinters of the Grenadoes) on the Confederates Side, and about six or seven *Spaniards* lay dead on the other Side of the Port, and amongst them one Officer of Note.

As soon as the *English* that closed the Rear were got into their Boats, a Regiment of *French* Foot fired briskly at them, but without hurting any body ; and thus by the good Disposition wisely contrived by the Duke of *Ormond*, and prudently managed by Colonel *Fox*, the Land Forces made a safe Retreat, in Sight of a numerous and enraged Enemy.

After all the Men were got on board the Fleet a Flag of Truce was sent ashore, to offer the *Spaniards* the Prisoners we had taken, and demand those they had made ; but they refused to receive theirs, saying, they might keep to the *English*, as not being good Subjects to the King of *Spain*. The Alcayde of *Rota* being apprehensive that should he continue there, he should be put to Death for surrendering that Place to the Allies, desired his Grace to take him on board, and carry him to *England*, with his Kinsman, who was the  
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Confederates Guide from *Rota* to Port *St. Mary*, which his Grace did generously grant. The same Day a Council of War was held on board the *Ranelagh*, where the Duke of *Ormond* was, for all the General Land-Officers; and another on board the *Sovereign* for the Flag-Officers. These Consultations were held pursuant to some Instructions lately receiv'd from *England*, whereby the Queen left to the Prudence of the Commanders in Chief, either to winter in some Port of *Spain* with the Land Forces, and Part of the Fleet, or to return Home, after having made a Detachment for the *West-Indies*; the Duke of *Ormonde* warmly insisted on the first, and the Prince of *Hesse d'Armstadt* proposed the Town of *Vigo*, as having a very commodious Harbour, and being seated in the most plentiful Corner of all *Spain*; but Sir *George Rook* and most of the Sea Officers, who were ignorant that *Monf. Chateaurenaud's* had arrived at *Vigo* with the *Spanish* Galleons, were of Opinion, that it was more for her Majesty's and the Nation's Service, to send a Reinforcement to Admiral *Benbow*; having Reason to suppose that the *French* had a very formidable Force in that Part of the World. After some Messages between his Grace and Sir *George Rook*, a general Council of Sea and Land General Officers was held on board the *Ranelagh*, wherein were present Sir *George Rook*, Lieutenant-Admiral *Allemond*, Vice-Admiral *Hopson*, Vice-Admiral *Vandergoes*, Vice-Admiral *Pieter-son*, Sir *Stafford Fairborn*, Rear-Admiral

*Wassenair*, Rear-Admiral *Greydon*, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, Sir *Henry Bellafys*, the Lord *Portmore*, Baron *Sparr*, Sir *Charles Hara*, Brigadier *Palandts*, Brigadier *Seymour*, and Brigadier *Hamilton*. In this Council it was debated, whether upon the Consideration of the Opposition and obstinate Inclination of the *Spaniards* in *Andalusia* to oppose the House of *Austria*, and the Difficulties which might be expected from the Season of the Year, as appeared by the Resolution of the Council of War of Flag-Officers of Yesterday, and the Aversion they might reasonably expect to find from the People of any other Part of *Spain*, as well as the Want of Intelligence, which the Army had been wholly destitute of since their being ashore; and that the *Dutch* Troops could not be supplied with Provisions from their Fleet for a longer Time than a Month, and the Diminutions of the Army, by the Detachments for the *West-Indies*, and Sickness; it was reasonable to make a second Attempt of landing in *Spain*; which being framed into a Question, and the Question put, all the Sea Officers subscribed the Negative, as did also the Land Officers, except the Duke of *Ormonde* and Baron *Sparr*, who remained firm for the Affirmative: It was therefore resolved, that the Fleet should take the first Opportunity, and make the best of their Way for *England*, and that the Rendezvous be appointed at *St. Hellens* till they should receive Orders for the disposing and landing the Army, whereupon the Prince of *Hesse* sailed for *Lisbon*. This

This Resolution being pursued, the Fleet steer'd accordingly, and in their Voyage for *England*, Sir *George Rook* sent the *Eagle*, the *Stirling-Castle*, and the *Pembroke*, with some Transports, to water in *Lagos Bay*, where arriving the 22d, about Five in the Afternoon, the Land Officers on board the *Pembroke* went ashore, having with them Mr. *Beauvoir*, a Gentleman of *Jersey*, Chaplain of that Ship. When they came to the Town of *Lagos*, they could find no body that could understand them, which obliged them to rove in the Streets for some Time, till the Chaplain espying a Gentleman, who by his fresh Countenance and foreign Garb, appeared to be no *Portuguese*, he accosted him in *French*, which he speaks as readily as *English*. The Gentleman answered him in the same Language, proving to be the *French* Consul. Mr. *Beauvoir*, by his genteel Address, and some Complements he pass'd upon the *French* Nation, insinuated himself so much into the Consul's Favour, that the latter offered him his House, both for himself and some of his Friends, which the Chaplain gladly accepted, and there took up his Lodging. He lay there two Nights, and had the Opportunity of several Conversations with the Consul, who boastingly extolled the Power of *France*; adding, that his most Christian Majesty would have such a strong Fleet at Sea next Summer, that neither the *English* nor *Dutch* should dare to stir out of their own Harbours; and to prove his Assertion, he gave Mr. *Beauvoir* a

broad Hint of *Chateaurenaud's* being safe not far off with the Galleons.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> in the Evening, Mr. *Beauvoir* was informed, that a Gentleman was come from *Lisbon*, bound for the Fleet, and that he designed to go the next Morning on board one of the *English* Men of War. This excited the Chaplain's Curiosity, who thereupon sent to the Gentleman to acquaint him, that if he did not go on board that Night he would lose his Passage, because the Squadron was to sail at Four in the Morning. That if he was pleased to go off, he had a Boat at his Service; that he should be welcome on board the *Pembroke*, and that he would be glad of his Company. The Gentleman accepted the Invitation, and whilst they were both waiting on the Shore for the Boat, Mr. *Beauvoir* asked him what News? Great ones, answered the Gentleman; for *Chateaurenaud* is at *Vigo* with 30 Men of War, and 22 Galleons; much the same Number that the *French* Consul had mentioned to the Chaplain, whose Curiosity increasing, he enquired farther whence he came, and who he was? The Gentleman replied, that he was both a *Spaniard* and a *German*, that he came from *Lisbon*, was sent by the Imperial Minister at that Court to *Faxes*; in order to go on board the Fleet, which was thought to be still before *Cadix*; but that coming to that Place, he found that the Fleet was passed by; and being inform'd of an *English* Squadron in *Lagos* Bay, he came to

*Lagos*



*Lagos* Town to get a Passage, and that he had two Letters, one for the Prince of *Hesse*, and the other for Mr. *Methuen*, Junior, which contained the Particulars of this important News, and which he drew out of his Pocket and shew'd to Mr. *Beauvoir*; the latter easily read the Superscription, because it was a fine Moon-light Night; but knowing that the Prince of *Hesse* and Mr. *Methuen* were gone out of the Fleet for *Lisbon*, he had so much Presence of Mind as to conceal it from that Messenger, lest he should refuse to go along with him; leaving him therefore in his Error, he carried him on board the *Pembroke*. When they came on board, they found the Captain already in Bed, and the Messenger being tired out with his long Journey, went also immediately to Bed to refresh himself. However, the Chaplain bolted into the great Cabin, awak'd Capt. *Hardy*, who commanded the *Pembroke*, acquainted him what he had learned from the Gentleman and from the French Consul, and told him he had brought the Gentleman on board, who confirmed the News of *Chateaurenaud's*, and the Galleons being at *Vigo*. The next Morning about Eight o'Clock, the Messenger being up, he confirmed to Capt. *Hardy* the Chaplain's Information, and produced his Letters. And when he heard that the Prince and Mr. *Methuen* were both gone by Sea to *Lisbon*, he was much surpris'd, and earnestly desired to be put on Shore; whereupon, (though they were then under  
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Sail from *Lagos*) Capt. *Hardy* sent his Boat with him under Cape *St. Vincent*, where he landed. At the same Time Capt. *Hardy* acquainted Capt. *Wishart*, who commanded the *Eagle* and all the Squadron, with what Intelligence he had gained ; upon which Information a Consultation of Captains was immediately held, wherein it was resolved, that this News was of that Importance, that a Ship should be sent to acquaint Sir *George Rook* with it ; and as Capt. *Hardy* had the best Sailor, and was Master of the Intelligence, Capt. *Wishart* ordered him to sail a-head to find out the Fleet. He was put upon so difficult a Piece of Work, that had he not been a very experienced Sea Officer, and eminently zealous for her Majesty's Service, he had never compassed it : For not to mention that the Fleet had made many various Courses, by reason of the Variableness of the Weather, of which he must have a Journal in his Head ; the Head of his Ship was loose, which endangered his Masts ; his Ship very leaky, and himself and all his Men were reduced to two Biscuits a Day. However, notwithstanding all these Difficulties, and the pressing Instances of his Men to bear away for *England*, he cruized till the 6th of *October*, when he found the Fleet, and acquainted Sir *George Rook* with his News. The Admiral being extreme glad of it, imparted the same immediately to the *Dutch* Admiral, declaring it his Opinion, that they should all set sail directly for *Vigo*. The  
*Dutch*

*Dutch* Admiral readily concurred with Sir *George Rook*, who the next Day call'd a Council of Flag-Officeas, wherein it was resolv'd, that in regard to the attempting and destroying the *French* and *Spanish* Ships at *Vigo* would be of great Advantage to her Majesty, and no less honourable to her and her Allies, and tend, in a great Measure, to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, the Fleet should make the best of their Way to that Port, and fall on immediately with the whole Line, if there were Room sufficient for it; otherwise to attack the Enemy with such Detachments as might render the Enterprize most effectual and successful. The same Morning the *Dunwich* came into the Fleet from *England*, by whom the Duke of *Ormond* received the Queen's Order concerning Sir *Henry Bellasis* and Sir *Charles Hara*; whereupon his Grace sent Lieutenant Colonel *Pierce*, his Aid de Camp, to desire them not to give themselves the Trouble to come to the Council of War; but afterwards finding them there, his Grace put them both in Arrest.

Pursuant to the Resolutions of the Council of War, the Fleet began to bend their Course towards *Vigo*; and the Admiral having sent out immediately two Frigates for Intelligence, they returned on the 9th of *October* at Night, with the Confirmation of Capt. *Hardy's* Account; adding, the Enemy's Ships lay up the River in *Rodondella* Harbour. The next Morning one of Sir *Claudeſly Shovel's* Squadron came  
into

into the Fleet, with Advice, that Sir *Cloudesty* was off of *Cape Finister*; whereupon he was sent back with Orders for that Admiral to join the grand Fleet. On Eleven in the Afternoon, the Fleet came to an Anchor against *Vigo*, the Weather having proved so hazy, that the Town never discovered them till they were just upon it; and though they fired very thick from that Place, yet the Confederates took little Notice of it.

The *French* Admiral, to do him Justice, had taken all human Precautions to secure his Ships, and the *Spanish* Flota; for he had not only carried them up beyond a very narrow Streight, defended by a Castle on the one Side, and Plat-forms on both Sides of the Streight, where he had planted his best Guns; but had likewise laid athwart it a strong Boom, made up of Masts, Yards, Cables, Top-Chains, and Casks about three Yards in Circumference, and kept steady by Anchors cast on both Sides of of it.

So soon as the Confederate Fleet came to an Anchor, the Admiral call'd a Council of General Sea and Land Officers, wherein it was concluded, that since the whole Fleet could not attempt the Enemy's Ships where they lay, without apparent Danger of running foul one upon another, a Detachment of 15 *English*, and 10 *Dutch* Men of War, of the Line of Battle, with all the Fire-ships, should be sent in with Orders to use their best Endeavours to take or destroy the Enemy's Fleet; that the Frigates  
and



and Bomb-Vessels should follow the Rear of the Detachment, and that the great Ships should move after them, and go in if there should be Occasion: That the Army at the same Time should land, and attack the Fort on the South Side of *Rodondella*, and thence proceed on, where they might most effectually annoy the Enemy: That because it was not known what Depth of Water there might be, the Attempt should be made with the smallest Ships; and that to give the better Countenance to the Service, all the Flag-Officers should go in with the Squadron.

For the better Performance of these Resolutions, Sir *George Rook*, with great Zeal and unwearied Vigilance, spent almost the whole Night in going from Ship to Ship in his own Boat, to give the necessary Directions, and to encourage both Officers and Seamen to discharge their Duty. The next Day about Ten in the Morning, the Duke of *Ormonde*, being landed in a sandy Bay, about two Leagues from *Vigo*, with near 2500 Men, on the South Side of the River, and without any Opposition, ordered the Grenadiers, under the Command of the Lord Viscount *Shannon*, and Colonel *Pierce*, to march directly to the Fort that guarded the Entrance into the Harbour, where the Boom lay, which they performed with great Alacrity and Courage: And his Grace himself at the Head of the rest of the Forces marched on foot over craggy Mountains to sustain the first Detachment. There appeared

appeared at the same Time about 8000 *Spanish* Foot, between the Fort and the Hills; but they only made a faint Shew of skirmishing at a Distance, and retired as the Grenadiers advanced; and the latter driving likewise before them another Party of the Enemy, followed them to the Fort, and made themselves Masters of the lower Platform, on which were 38 Pieces of Cannon. Thereupon Lieutenant General *Churchill's* Regiment advanced upon the Left, and took their Posts as they saw most convenient. After the Batteries were taken, the Enemy retreated into an old Castle, or Stone Tower, and fired from thence briskly upon the *English* for some small Time; but the Grenadiers plying them briskly with their Hand-Grenadoes, and pelting them with their Fuzees as soon as they appeared on the Wall, Monsieur de *Sorel*, a stout *French* Captain of a Man of Water, who commanded in the Fort, having encouraged his Men to make a desperate Push for their Lives, opened the Gate, intending to force his Way through the *English* with Sword in Hand; but the Grenadiers rushing immediately into the Castle, made themselves Masters of it, and took near 300 *French* Seamen and 50 *Spaniards*, with their Officers, Prisoners at Discretion. A small Party of the Enemy endeavoured to make their Escape through the Water, but were stopt by a Detachment of the *Dutch*, headed by Capt. de *Najaer*, a *French* Protestant,

stant, who served as Volunteer near his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*.

Nor were those in the Fleet idle Spectators of all this; for as soon as the Land Forces were got on Shore, the Admiral gave the Signal to weigh, which was accordingly done, the Line formed, and the Squadron was briskly bearing up to the Boom; but when the Van was got within Cannon-shot of the Batteries it fell calm, so that they were constrained to come to an Anchor again. However, not long after it blowing a fresh Gale, Vice-Admiral *Hopson* in the *Torbay* being near the Enemy, cut immediately his Cables, clapt on all his Sails, and bearing up directly upon the Boom, amidst all the Enemy's Fire, broke through it at once, cast Anchor between the *Bourbon* and *L'Esperance* (or *Hope*). Two French Men of War, which Count *Chateaurenaud* had placed near the Boom, with unparallel'd Resolution received several Broadfides from them. He was moreover clapped on board by a French Fireship, and had been burnt if the Fire-ship had not blown up; the Admiral himself remaining on board till he extinguished the Fire, tho' above 100 of his Men were forc'd to jump over-board to escape the Flames.

The rest of Vice-Admiral *Hopson's* Division, and Vice-Admiral *Vandergoes*, with his Detachment, having weigh'd, at the same Time, sailed a-breast towards the Boom, to add the greatest Weight and Force to the Shock, but being becalmed, they all stuck, and were obliged

obliged to hack and cut their Way through; A fresh Gale blowing again, the *Dutch* Admiral made so good Use of it, that having nick'd the Passage which the brave *Hopson* had made, he boldly went in and made himself Master of the *Bourbon*.

All this while Vice-Admiral *Hopson* was in extream Danger for being clapt on board by a *French* Fireship, by which his Rigging was presently set on Fire, he expected every Moment to be burnt. But it fortunately happened that the *French* Vessel, which was a Merchant-man laden with Snuff, and made up in Haste into a Fire-ship, being blown up, the Snuff partly extinguish'd the Fire, and preserved the *English* Man of War. However, Vice-Admiral *Hopson* received considerable Damage in this memorable Action; for besides the having his Fore-top-mast shot by the Board, and 115 Men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, most of his Sails were burnt and destroyed; his fore Yard burnt to a Coal, and his Larboard Shrouds fore and aft, burnt at the Dead Eyes, insomuch that he was afterwards forced to leave his own Ship, and hoist his Flag on board the *Monmouth*. At the same Time Capt. *Bucknam*, in the *Association*, laid his Broadside against a Battery of 17 Guns on the other Side the Harbour, so that for a considerable while there was a continual firing of great and small Shot on both Sides, till the *French* Admiral seeing the Platform and Fort in the Hands of the victorious *English*.



*English*, his Fire-ship spent in vain, the *Bourbon* taken, the Boom cut in Pieces, and the confederate Fleet pouring in upon him, he set Fire to his own Ship, and ordered the rest of the Captains under his Command to follow his Example; but he could not be so punctually obey'd, but that several Men of War and Galleons were taken both by the *English* and *Dutch*, as you may see in the following List.

*French SHIPS in the Harbour of Rodondella.*

SHIPS taken.

<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>SHIPS Names.</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Guns</i>
Monfieur de Beaujeu,	Le Prompt,	500	76
M. de Montbeau,	Le Bourbon,	410	68
M. de Boiffier,	Le Ferme,	450	74
M. L'Autier,	Le Modere,	300	54
M. d' Aligre,	L'Assuré,	380	66
M. de Cour,	Le Triton,	253	42

Of these the *Bourbon* only was taken by the *Dutch*, the rest were carried home by the *English*.

SHIPS burnt.

Count de Chateaurenaud,	Le Fort,	500	76
M. de Tricombaut,	L'Oriflame,	380	64
M. de Chamelin,	Le Solde,	350	56
M. de Grand Pré,	Le Prudent,	380	64 or 62
M. Dupleffis,	La Dauphine,	230	44
M. de Polignac,	L'Enterprennant,	130	24
M. de St. Osman,	La Choquante,		8
M. de Lescallet,	Le Favori, Firesh.		14

There were also three Gardes Marines or Scouts burnt.

SHIP S not taken, but either sunk or run ashore, and bulged.

Le Marq. de la Galefsonniere,	L'Esperance,	420	70
M. de Mongon,	La Sirene	380	62
Le Marq. de Chateaurenaud,	Le Superbe	450	70
M. de Sorel,	Le Volontaire,	250	46

S

*Spanish*

*Spanish Men of War.*

Don Manuel de Valasco Gen.	Jesus Maria Joseph	70
Don Josephus Checon Adm.	La Buffuna.	54
Don Fernando Checon,	La Capitana de Asia Gos	54

*Spanish Galleons taken, sunk, or run ashore,  
&c.*

## COMMANDERS.

Don Vifente Alvarez  
Don Francisco Blanco  
Don Alonzo Iparrire  
Don Cosmo Antonio Montag  
Don Michael Cametee  
Don Ignatio Asconobritio  
Don Anton. Gomes d'Auresia

Don Francisco Baragand  
Don Juan Dungo  
Don Frebusia Bernarde Vera  
Don Alonzo Lopez  
Don Marten Moguera

## SHIPS.

Sancto Christo di Mariacaja,  
Sancto Christo di Buen Veajo,  
Santa Cruz,  
Nostradama de Merci,  
Santo Domingo,  
La Trinidad,  
St. Juan Baptista,  
Philippo Quinto,  
Nostra Senora de Mercedas,  
Jalashe del General,  
La Sacra Familia,  
Santa Cruz,  
Santa Sufanna.

Of these 13 Galleons (which carried from 20 to upwards of 30 Guns) four were taken by the *English*, five by the *Hollanders*, and the rest were all destroy'd.

As the good Conduct of the Land Forces contributed very much to the Success of this Enterprize, having contrived to assail the Forts just as the Men of War, bearing up to the Boom, poured in their Broadfides upon them; so did it wonderfully reconcile them to the Seamen, who before thought them useles, and created a Friendship and Confidence between them both; for both were here Witnesses of their respective Resolution and Bravery, and afforded one another mutual Assistance.

This great and memorable Victory was obtained with very inconsiderable Loss; for, besides

sides the Damage received by Vice-Admiral *Hepson*, as above-mention'd, the *Kent* had only her Fore-mast shot, and Boatswain wounded; the *Association* had her Main-mast shot, and two Men killed; the *Barfleur* had her Main-mast shot, two Men killed, and two wounded; and the *Mary* her Boltsprit shot. Of the Land-men, two Lieutenants and about 40 Soldiers were slain; Colonel *Pierce* was wounded with a Cannon-shot from our own Men of War in the Thigh, and Colonel *Seymour*, Colonel *Newton*, Mr. *Talmash*, and about 30 private Men were also wounded.

Though the *French* lost the Day, yet it must be acknowledged that they defended the Boom and the Fort with great Courage, till, seeing themselves deserted by the raw and unexperienced *Spanish* Militia, and over-power'd by the Confederates, they were forced to yield to the Fortune of War. The Number of their Slain was much the same with that of the Allies, but near 400 of their Men were taken Prisoners; and amongst them M. *d'Aligre*, Commodore of a Squadron, the Marquis *de la Gallefontiere*, M. *de Sorel*, and several other Officers of Note; Count *Chateaurnaud* and the *Spanish* General, with some others, made their Escape: But Don *Joseph Checon*, the *Spanish* Admiral, was made Prisoner.

History cannot determine the Value of the Booty the Confederates gained in this bold and successful Attempt; though 'tis not what they

got, but what the Enemy lost, that is chiefly to be regarded, and which indeed was very considerable. However, to make a reasonable Conjecture of both, it may be remarked, that this *Spanish* Flota was universally acknowledged to be the richest that ever came from the *West-Indies* into *Europe*. That the Silver and Gold it had on board was computed at 20 Millions of Pieces of Eight; of which 14 Millions, only, were taken out of the Galleons, and secured by the Enemy, and the rest was either taken or left in the Galleons that were burnt or sunk: And that the Goods were valued at 20 Millions of Pieces of Eight more, one fourth Part of which was saved, near two destroyed, and the other taken by the Confederates; besides the Ships already mentioned, and a great deal of Plate and Goods belonging to private Persons, most Part of which was either taken or lost.

The Duke of *Ormonde*, who by his Presence where Danger threaten'd most had encouraged every body to do their Duty, march'd the same Night with his Forces to *Rodondella*, being well lighted in his Way by the Enemy's Ships in Flames, which yielded a pleasant tho' dismal Spectacle. His Grace took Possession of *Rodondella* without any Resistance, most of the Inhabitants being fled; and though great Bodies of the *Spaniards* drew together on the Mountains, yet, finding the Confederates in so good a Posture to receive them, they never durst venture to attack them. In this Place

was



was found a great deal of Plate belonging to the *French* Officers, which his Grace caused to be divided among the Officers of his own Troops.

On the 14th, mutual Congratulations, by Letters, past between the Duke of *Ormonde* and Sir *George Rook*, on the Success of their Enterprize: And at the same Time his Grace acquainted the Admiral with his Design of marching to *Vigo*, and attacking the Place; which he doubted not he might easily take, and maintain himself there that Winter, and be in a Readiness next Spring to pursue the Advantages they had now gained; and perhaps bring *Portugal* to a Declaration for the Allies. This, *said his Grace*, he would do, if Sir *George* would agree to it, and leave with him such a Number of Ships, and such a Quantity of Provisions, as might be thought necessary: But *upon the Admiral's Answer*, that he could not give the Forces more than six Weeks or two Months Provisions, or leave more than five or six Frigates which he could hardly think safe any longer than they were at Sea, considering that the *French*, who had such Advantages, were not: His Grace acquainted Sir *George Rook*, that he would give over the Thoughts of going to *Vigo*, and of wintering in those Parts.

On the 16th of *October*, Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, with about twenty of her Majesty's Ships, joined the Fleet from *England*: The next Day the Duke of *Ormonde*, with the Land

Forces, marched from *Rodondella*, and embark'd; and, on the 19th in the Morning, Sir *George Rook*, with Vice-Admiral *Hopson*, and ten Sail more of her Majesty's Ships, besides Tenders and Transports, sail'd from *Vigo* Harbour with a fine Land Breeze, leaving behind Vice Admiral *Shovel*, and Rear Admiral *Fairborn*, and *Graydon*, with twenty-seven more *English* Men of War, besides Fireships, Bomb Vessels, Hospital-ships, and the *French* and *Spanish* Prizes, which when fitted he was to bring home; after having quite destroy'd those Ships which the Enemy ran ashore, and the Fort the Confederates took at their Landing. On the 7th of *November*, Sir *George Rook* came into the *Downs*, and the same Day, at Four in the Afternoon, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde* landed at *Deal*, and having dispatched the necessary Orders, for the dis-embarking and quartering the Forces, went that Night to *Canterbury*, and, arriving at *London* the next Day, was received with deserved and great Marks of Favour by her Majesty, and with the loud Acclamations of the People: His Grace's and Sir *George Rook*'s Success at *Vigo* having stifled the various Discourses and secret Murmurings about the secret Expedition to *Cadiz*. We must here take Notice that the Queen gave a noble Gratuity to the Lord *Shannon* and to Captain *Thomas Hardy*, who were sent Express by the Duke of *Ormonde* and Sir *George Rook*, with the first Account of their prosperous Attempt; and that, beside

a Present of a thousand Guineas, her Majesty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on that Captain.

On the 14th of November Mr. Secretary Hedges, by the Queen's Command, acquainted the House, *that her Majesty had appointed Thursday the 12th instant to be observed in London and Westminster, and the Places adjacent, as a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, on Occasion of the great Successes of her Majesty's Arms, and those of her Allies, and particularly that of her Troops under the Command of the Earl of Marlborough, that of the Forces under the Command of the Duke of Ormonde at Vigo, and also for the extraordinary Success of the Fleet under the Command of Sir George Rook. That, for the greater Solemnity on that Day, her Majesty would be pleased to go to St. Paul's Church, as has been accustomed in former Times in this Kingdom, to return Thanks to Almighty God, for the signal and great Success in which not only her Majesty, but all her Subjects were so highly concerned: And that her Majesty had given necessary Orders for providing convenient Places in the said Cathedral for the Members of that House, as well as for the House of Lords. For which the Commons returned their Thanks to her Majesty, and resolved that they would attend her Majesty, as a House, to St. Paul's Church, upon the Day appointed for a publick Thanksgiving.*

On the Day fix'd for the Solemnity the Procession began between Eight and Nine in the

Morning. First the Commons went from their own House to *St. James's Park*, and passed before her Majesty's Palace, down *Pall-Mall* to *St. Paul's*. The Speaker led the Way, and all the Members followed in their respective Coaches.

Soon after came the House of Peers; three of the *Knight Marshal's* Men made Way; then came the Clerk of the *Crown*, the Masters in *Chancery*, and the Judges as Assistants to that House; the Peers, being all in their Robes, followed in their Coaches, according to their Precedency as they were marshall'd by the Heralds at *Westminster*, the youngest Baron going first: Those who were Knights of the Garter wore their Collars of the Order.

Her Majesty came afterwards attended in the following Manner; first march'd the *Knight Marshal* on Horseback, with some of of his Men; next came one of her Majesty's Coaches with six Horses, wherein were the *Gentlemen Ushers*; another of her Majesty's Coaches, wherein sat the Duke of *Somerſet*, Master of the Horse; and the Duke of *Ormonde*, being the Staff Officer in waiting; then the Troop of Horse Grenadiers, and two more of her Majesty's Coaches, in which were the Ladies and Maids of Honour; next her Majesty's Footmen, and the Yeomen of the the Guard on foot; and then her Majesty habited in Purple, wearing her Collar and *George*, in her Body Coach drawn by eight Horses, in which were also the Countesses of *Marlborough* and



and *Sunderland* ; and last of all her Majesty's third Troop of Horse Guards.

The Streets were lined from *St. James's* to *Temple-Bar* by the Militia of *Westminster*, from thence to *Ludgate* by the City Train'd Bands, and two Companies of her Majesty's Foot Guards were posted in the Church ; the Balconies and Windows of the Houses were hung with Carpets and Tapestry, and the Number of Spectators were exceeding great.

At *Temple-Bar* her Majesty was met by the Lord Mayor in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs in their Scarlet Gowns, being all on Horseback ; and the Lord Mayor surrendered the City Sword to her Majesty, who having returned the same to him, he carried it before her Majesty to the Church, the Aldermen and Sheriffs riding before him.

Her Majesty, being come to *St. Paul's*, was met at the West Door by the Peers, the Kings and Officers of Arms, with the Gentlemen Pensioners, attending ; the Sword of State was carried before her, from thence into the Choir, by his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, and her Majesty walk'd between the Duke of *Somerset* and the Lord Chamberlain.

Her Majesty, being enter'd into the Choir, seated herself on her Throne of State, which was placed near the West End of the Choir, opposite the Altar ; the *Peers* had Seats in the Area, as they sat in the House of Lords ; the Commons in the Stalls and upper Galleries on each

each Side, the Ladies of the Bed-chamber, Maids of Honour, and the other Ladies of the highest Quality, and the foreign Ministers, in the two lower Galleries next the Throne, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the lower Galleries next the Altar : The Lord Bishop of *London* sat in his Throne or Stall, the Dean and Prebendaries, within the Rails of the Altar, and the Choir was placed in the Organ Loft. The Prayers and Litany were said and sung by the Residentiaries, and Minor Canons ; the Lord Bishop of *London* read the Communion Service, and the Lord Bishop of *Exeter* preached an excellent Sermon ; and the Hymn, *Te Deum*, with several other Anthems, admirably well-set to Musick, were sung by the Choir.

The Divine Service being ended, her Majesty returned to *St. James's*, in the same State she came. The great Guns in the *Tower* and those in *St. James's Park* were thrice discharged ; the first Time when her Majesty parted from *St. James's*, the second at the Singing of the *Te Deum*, and the third when her Majesty came back to her Palace.

A pyramidical Illumination was hung up at *Ludgate*, and the following Inscription affixed to one Side of the Gate :

ANNA

A N N A

Britanniæ Magnæ Regina

Et Conjux vere Illustris

G E O R G I U S

Daniæ Princeps

Nec non inclyti Heroes

Tyranni Gallici debellatores

Jacobus Dux Ormond

Johannes Comes Marleborough

Georgius Rook Miles

Classis Triumphantis præfectus

Vivant et Floreant.

May *Ann Queen* of Great Britain, her truly Illustrious Consort, *George Prince* of Denmark, and the renowned Heroes, Conquerors of the Gallic Monarch, *James Duke of Ormond*, General of the victorious Fleet, *John Earl of Marleborough*, *George Rook Knight*, live and prosper.

The House of Commons had before, *viz.* on the 10th, unanimously voted their Thanks to his Gracethe Duke of *Ormonde*, and Sir *George Rook*, for the great and signal Services by them performed for the Nation both by Sea and Land.

On the 11th, in Pursuance of this Vote, Mr. *Boyle* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, reported, that the Committee appointed had attended the Duke of *Ormonde*, with the Thanks of the House, and that his Grace was pleased to say, *It was the greatest Honour could be given to a Subject; that, as for his*  
Part,

*Part, he had done nothing but what was his Duty; and that all the Troops under his Command behaved themselves very gallantly, and he desired to express his utmost Thanks for the Honour he had done him.*

On the 13th the Duke of Ormonde being come to the House of Lords, the Lord Keeper returned his Grace Thanks, in the Name of the Peers, for his signal Services performed at *Vigo*: and then the Lords ordered an Address to be presented to the Queen, that she would be pleased to order the Duke of Ormonde and Sir George Rook to lay before them an Account of their Proceedings in their late Expedition. The Queen having complied with this Address, the Duke of Ormonde did, on the 16th, lay his Journal before the Lords.

On the 21st Sir George Rook having taken his Place in the House of Commons, Mr. Speaker gave him the Thanks of that House, in this Manner:

*Sir George Rook,*

“ You are now returned to this House after  
 “ a most glorious Expedition; her Majesty  
 “ began her Reign with a Declaration that  
 “ her Heart was entirely *English*, and Heaven  
 “ hath made Her to triumph over the Ene-  
 “ mies of *England*; for this, Thanks has been  
 “ returned in solemn Manner to Almighty  
 “ God. There remains yet a Debt of Grati-  
 “ tude to those that have been the Instruments  
 “ of so wonderful a Victory, the Duke of  
 “ *Ormonde*



“ Ormonde and yourself, who had Command  
“ of the Sea and Land Forces. In former  
“ times Admirals and Generals have had Suc-  
“ cess against *France* and *Spain* singly, but  
“ this Action at *Vigo* hath been a Victory  
“ over them confederated together. You have  
“ not only spoiled our Enemies, but you have  
“ also enriched your own Country. Com-  
“ mon Victories bring only Terror to the Con-  
“ quered, but you brought Destruction upon  
“ them, and additional Strength to *England*:  
“ *France* had endeavoured to support its Am-  
“ bition by the Riches of *India*; your Success,  
“ (Sir) hath left them the Burthen of *Spain*,  
“ and stripped them of the Assistance of it.  
“ The Wealth of *Spain*, and Ships of *France*,  
“ are, by this Victory, brought over to our  
“ juster Cause: This is an Action so glorious  
“ in the Performance, and so extensive in its  
“ Consequence, that, as all Times will pre-  
“ serve the Memory of it, so every Day will  
“ more and more inform us of the Benefit.  
“ No doubt (Sir) in *France*, you are writ in  
“ remarkable Characters, in the black List of  
“ those who have taken *French* Gold; and it  
“ is a Justice due to the Duke of Ormonde and  
“ your Merit, that you should stand recorded  
“ in the Register of this House, as the In-  
“ struments of this glorious Victory; therefore  
“ the House have come to this unanimous Re-  
“ solution:”

*That the Thanks of this House be given to his Grace the Duke of Ormonde and Sir George Rook, for the great and signal Services performed by them to the Nation at Sea and Land,*

“ Which Thanks (Sir) by their Command, I now return you.”

To this Sir *George Rook* answered :

Mr. *Speaker*,

“ I am now under a great Difficulty, how  
“ to express myself upon this very great Oc-  
“ casion. I think myself very happy, that, in  
“ Zeal and Duty to your Service, it hath been  
“ my good Fortune to be the Instrument of  
“ that which may deserve your Notice, and  
“ much more the Return of your Thanks. I  
“ am extremely sensible of this great Honour,  
“ and shall take all the Care I can to preserve  
“ it to my Grave, and convey it to my Poste-  
“ rity without Spot or Blemish, by a constant,  
“ affectionate, and zealous Perseverance in the  
“ Queen’s, and your Service.

“ Sir, no Man hath the Command of For-  
“ tune, but every Man hath Virtue at his Will;  
“ and though I may not be always successful in  
“ your Service, as upon this Expedition, yet I  
“ will presume to assure you, I shall never be  
“ more faulty.

“ I must repeat my Inability to express my-  
“ self on this Occasion, but, as I have a due  
“ Sense of the great Honour this House has  
been

“ been pleased to do me, so I shall al<sup>ways</sup>  
 “ retain a due and grateful Memory of it. And  
 “ though my Duty and Allegiance are strong  
 “ Obligations upon me, to do the best in the  
 “ Service of my Country, yet I shall always  
 “ take this as a particular Tie upon me, to do  
 “ Right and Justice to your Service upon all  
 “ Occasions.”

The Disappointment at *Cadiz* had  
 greatly raised the Spirits of the Ene- 1702-3.  
 mies of the Ministry, but, these being again  
 damped by the taking *Vigo*, a Complaint was  
 exhibited in the House of Lords, charging Sir  
*George Rook* with the Miscarriage at *Cadiz*, chiefly  
 on account of his differing in Opinion in some  
 Instances with the Duke of *Ormonde*; the Lords  
 ordered the Journals of the Duke and the Ad-  
 miral, and other great Officers, to be laid before  
 ’em; but having examined that Matter thorough-  
 ly, they resolved that Sir *George Rook* had done  
 his Duty, pursuant to the Councils of War, like  
 a brave Officer, and to the Honour of the *English*  
 Nation. On the other hand Sir *Henry Bellasis*,  
 a Lieutenant-General in the Expedition to *Ca-*  
*diz*, was tried by a Court of General Officers,  
 and found guilty of plundering the *Spaniards* at  
 Port *St. Mary’s*; whereupon Sir *Henry Bellasis*  
 was broke and dismissed the Service; but Major  
 General *Hara* was acquitted by the same Court,  
 and his Suspension thereupon taken off by her  
 Majesty.

The Earl of *Rochester* finding another Inter-  
 rest too strong for him in Council, and that  
 the

the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* was only continued to him, that he might remain at a Distance from Court, resigned that Post; and the Duke of *Ormonde* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* on the Fourth of *February*, whereby some Men had the Pleasure to see another Rival in the Queen's Favour removed from Court and Camp.

On the 20th of *May* 1703, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant of 1703 *Ireland*, set out from *London*, with a numerous Attendance on his Way to *Chester*, in order to embark there for that Kingdom. His Grace was accompanied several Miles out of Town, by a great many of the Nobility and Gentry, and above two thousand Persons of inferior Rank, and, having been received with extraordinary Demonstrations of Respect and Affection in all Places through which he passed, embarked at *Hylake* on the 2d of *June*, and on the 4th arrived at *Dublin*, to the inexpressible Joy of that City, and the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, which they endeavoured in some Measure to shew by a most magnificent Reception.

Soon after the Duke's Landing in that Kingdom, he review'd the Garrisons, and, on his Return to *Dublin*, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens, resolved to entertain his Grace in the most respectful and distinguishing Manner, in regard as well to his Person and Character, as to the many signal Favours, that City had received from his Grace's Ancestors. Accordingly on the 13th  
of



of *August* the several Corporations or City Companies marched from their respective Halls to *Oxmonton-Green*, well armed and equipped, where they paraded, and from thence went in good Order through the City to *Stephen's Green*, being led by the Sheriffs on Horseback; each Company had several Pageants representing their Trades. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, were seated in their Scarlet Gowns at the *Tholsel*, where the Officers of each Company as they proceeded saluted the Lord Mayor; and in like Manner paid their Respects to his Grace, who did the City the Honour to view the several Companies from the Earl of *Abercorn's* House in *York Street*, where he was attended by the Lord Chancellor, and several of the Nobility and Gentry. The 24 Corporations, having taken their Stations in *St. Stephen's Green*, were followed thither by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen in their Formalities, being attended with a Company of City Grenadiers. About One of the Clock, my Lord Lieutenant went to the *Green*, and at his Entrance was received by the Sheriffs uncovered on Horseback, who rode on each Side of his Coach, and conducted his Grace to the *Guild* of Merchants, where he alighted and was received by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen. His Grace viewed each Company, and afterwards retired into the Lord Mayor's Tent, where he was entertained for an Hour; during which Time each Company

fired thrice, and from thence returned to the *Castle*. About Three of the Clock, the Sheriffs conducted his Grace to the *Tholsel*, where he was received by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen; the Lord Mayor surrendered the Sword to his Grace, which he was pleased to return to his Lordship, who carried the same before him through a Guard of Militia Grenadiers to the Apartment appointed for his Grace's Reception, the Stewards with their Staves walking before them, the Kettle-Drums beating, and the Trumpets sounding. Her Grace the Dutchess of *Ormonde* soon after came to the *Tholsel*, attended by the Lady May'refs, and several Ladies of Quality, and the Aldermens Wives, where she was received by the Lord Mayor. Several Tables were plentifully covered in the State-Room, and in the *Guild-Hall*; my Lord Lieutenant and Dutchess were conducted to the former, being attended by the Lord Primate, Lord Chancellor, and most of the Nobility, Ladies of Quality, Judges, Officers, and Gentry in the Town. The Entertainment was splendid, and in great Order. The Duke was served at Table by the Sheriffs, her Grace by the Lord Mayor's Son, and the rest of the Company by Members of the Council. While the Dinner lasted, their Graces were entertained with Vocal and Instrumental Music. Dinner was concluded with her Majesty's Health, at which their Graces and all the Company stood up; his  
Royal

Royal Highness's Health was also drunk, the Drums beating, and Trumpets founding, at both. Their Graces retired afterwards to their several Apartments, till all Things were prepared for a Ball, which was begun about Eight of the Clock, by the Lady *Mary Buttler*, and the Earl of *Abercorne*, and ended in a very handsome Banquet of Sweetmeats. Their Graces were pleased to express their great Satisfaction for the whole Day's Solemnity, which was attended with all possible Demonstrations of the City's Duty and Loyalty to her Majesty, and the highest Respect for his Grace's Person and Government.

The Parliament of *Ireland* being appointed to meet on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *September*, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal went to the *Castle*, about 10 o'Clock, to wait upon his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde* to the Parliament-House, the Spiritual Lords in their Habits, and the Temporal Lords without their Robes. About 11 o' Clock his Grace proceeded to the House of Peers in the following Manner, (the Streets being lined with two Regiments of Foot :) *Viz.* Trumpets, Gentlemen-Waiters, two and two; Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and Gentlemen of the Horse; Pursuivant, Messengers, Chaplains, two and two; Secretaries; *Athlone* Pursuivant; Serjeant at Arms; Gentlemen-Ushers; *Ulster* King at Arms; his Grace's Coach; a compleat Troop of Horse; Lord Primate's Coach, Lord Chancellor's Coach, Coches of Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

poral. His Grace, being come to the House, retired into the Robing-Chamber; where he staid until the Lords put on their Robes, and went into the House. *Usher* King of Arms delivered a List of the Peers to the Clerk, who, being first sworn, called over the House, and swore such Lords as have sat in Parliament; such as had not, staid in the Robing-Room. As soon as the House was sworn, the King at Arms and the Usher of the Black-Rod, with the other Servants of the House, were also sworn; and then the Lords who never sat in Parliament were introduced by the King at Arms, and sworn. His Grace being acquainted by the Usher of the Black-Rod that the House was ready, he went to the Throne in the following Manner: The Lords all standing, first entered Serjeants at Arms; Gentlemen-Ushers; King at Arms; Sword carried by the second Peer, Cap by the eldest. His Grace in the Royal Robe and Collar of the Order, his Train supported by a Peer's eldest Son, and assisted by younger Sons of Peers. While his Grace sat upon the Throne, the Speaker placed himself at his Grace's Left-hand, to receive his Command. On his Right-hand stood the Cap of Maintenance, and on his left the Sword of the State, and the Serjeant at Arms. As soon as the Peers were sworn, and the Commons sent for up his Grace in the Royal Robes went up to the Throne, and addressed himself to both Houses in the following Speech :

*May*



*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ THE Queen could not more effectually manifest her tender Concern for you, than by calling you at this Time to meet in Parliament, whereby you have an Opportunity of passing those gracious Bills already sent over, and of making such other Laws as may yet be wanting for the Establishment of the *Protestant* Religion, and the Welfare of the Kingdom.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ It were to be wished that you were in a Condition to provide for such Fortifications as would much conduce to the Safety of the Kingdom, and particularly at *Limerick*, and for building Barracks in this City, and where else they are wanting; but that which her Majesty expects, at this Time, is only that the public Debts be discharged, and the Revenue made equal to the Expence of the Government, which is much encreased by the Charge of the Barracks; and they are found so useful, and so great an Ease to the Country, that they ought not to be neglected.

“ I have ordered all the Accounts to be lain before you, by which you will perceive, that the Government has expended a very considerable Sum towards the building of Barracks, more than was given by the Parliament for that Purpose; and, when you are fully inform'd of Particulars, I have no Doubt but you

“ will give her Majesty as great Testimonies  
 “ of Respect and Affection, as have been gi-  
 “ ven to any of her Royal Predecessors.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ Since the Queen has done me the Honour  
 “ to place me in this Station, as my Duty  
 “ and Gratitude oblige me to serve her Ma-  
 “ jesty with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity ;  
 “ so my Inclination and Interest, and the  
 “ Examples of my Ancestors, are indispensable  
 “ Obligations upon me to improve every Op-  
 “ portunity, the most I can, to the Prosperity  
 “ of this my Native Country.

“ I have all the Assurances that can be gi-  
 “ ven, that the Regiments in the *West-Indies*  
 “ on this Establishment shall soon return ;  
 “ and I will use my utmost Endeavour, that the  
 “ whole Revenue may be expended in this  
 “ Kingdom. And since I have no other Design,  
 “ but what you all aim at, the Queen’s Service,  
 “ and the Good of our Country, I shall only  
 “ recommend to you, that we may unite and  
 “ agree in the same Measures to compass  
 “ them, and that we may pursue them with  
 “ that Wisdom and Temper which Matters  
 “ of such Importance require.”

The Lord Lieutenant having made his Speech,  
 and the Commons being directed to chuse a  
 Speaker and present him in three Days after,  
 till which Time the Parliament was adjourn’d,  
 his Grace went back to the Robing-Room af-  
 ter the same Manner, and so returned to the

*Castle*

*Castle* attended as before, except by the Peers, who remained sitting in the House. The Commons returned to their House, and unanimously chose *Allen Broderick*, Esq; her Majesty's Solicitor-General in that Kingdom, to be their Speaker, who was accordingly presented and approved on the 24th. Then Mr. Speaker, and the Members present, took the Oaths, and made and subscribed both the Declaration, and Oath of Abjuration, as the Lords had done the first Day of the Session. The first Thing, both Houses went upon, was a dutiful and affectionate Address to his Grace; that of the Lords in these Expressions :

*May it please your Grace,*

“ WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, do  
“ unanimously render your Grace our most  
“ humble and hearty Thanks for your most  
“ excellent Speech delivered from the Throne  
“ to both Houses of Parliament.

“ We have a just and grateful Sense of her  
“ Majesty's Goodness in calling us together at  
“ this Time; and we cannot but admire  
“ her Majesty's Wisdom in appointing your  
“ Grace to represent her Royal Person, upon  
“ this Occasion. Since only your Grace  
“ could, in this Juncture of Difficulty and  
“ Distress, compose the Minds of her People,  
“ and raise their Hopes that some Relief is intended them.

“ We have an entire Confidence in your  
“ Grace, because of your Grace’s and your  
“ most noble Ancestors constant Loyalty and  
“ Adherence to the Crown, and Zeal for the  
“ *Pretestant* Religion, as by Law established;  
“ the long Experience we have had of your  
“ generous and affectionate Inclinations to  
“ the Kingdom: and because your great  
“ Interest in it will oblige your Grace al-  
“ ways to promote the Interest of this your  
“ Native Country.

“ And we cannot omit to return our most  
“ humble Thanks to your Grace, for the As-  
“ surances you have been pleased to give us,  
“ that the Regiments in the *West-Indies*, on  
“ this Establishment, shall soon return, and  
“ the Encouragement we have from your  
“ Grace to hope that the whole Revenue  
“ of this Kingdom shall for the future be  
“ expended in it; which is absolutely necessary  
“ for the Welfare thereof.

“ And since we cannot give a more effectual  
“ Testimony of the Honour and Esteem we  
“ have for your Grace, than by paying all  
“ imaginable Regard to your Advice, we as-  
“ sure your Grace, that we shall be always  
“ ready to unite and agree in such Measures,  
“ as shall be thought expedient for her Maje-  
“ sty’s Service, and the Good of this King-  
“ dom; and shall never be wanting to express  
“ as much Duty, Loyalty, and Respect to  
“ her Majesty, as ever was done to any of  
“ her Royal Predecessors.”

To



*To which his Grace returned the following Answer:*

*My Lords,*

“ I give you Thanks for your kind Address,  
 “ I will represent to the Queen your Zeal for  
 “ her Service, and do all the good Offices  
 “ with her Majesty for the Support of your  
 “ Lordships and of the Kingdom.”

*The Commons Address was as follows:*

“ We her Majesty’s most faithful and  
 “ loyal Subjects the Commons of *Ireland*,  
 “ in Parliament assembled, do render our  
 “ most humble and hearty Thanks, for your  
 “ Grace’s Speech to both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment, and the many Assurances given us  
 “ therein; particularly that the Regiments in  
 “ the *West-Indies* on this Establishment will  
 “ be soon recalled; and that you will use  
 “ your Endeavours, that the whole Revenue  
 “ of this Kingdom shall be spent at Home.

“ At the same Time we beg leave to assure  
 “ your Grace, that we have a deep and hearty  
 “ Sense of her Majesty’s Affection, and Re-  
 “ gard for the Interest of the Kingdom; in  
 “ giving us this Opportunity, under your  
 “ Grace’s Administration, of making such  
 “ Laws as shall be thought necessary for the  
 “ further Establishment of the *Protestant*  
 “ Religion and Welfare of this Nation.

“ ’Tis

‘ ’Tis with Pleasure we call to Mind the  
‘ Happiness we enjoyed, under the prudent  
‘ Administration of your most noble An-  
‘ cestors; and under your Grace our Hopes  
‘ revive of enjoying the like again.

‘ Your unshaken Fidelity to the Crown,  
‘ Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion and In-  
‘ terest, Conduct and distinguished Bravery,  
‘ upon all Occasions in the public Service,  
‘ are so many Honours done to this your  
‘ native Country. We are highly concerned  
‘ that the present Circumstances of the King-  
‘ dom (as your Grace truly observes) incapa-  
‘ citate us from answering the Exigences of  
‘ the Public, suitable to our Inclinations for  
‘ her Majesty’s Service, the Honour and  
‘ Esteem we have for your Grace’s Person  
‘ and Government, and Security of this  
‘ Nation.

‘ Yet we unanimously assure your Grace,  
‘ that the grateful Sense we have of her  
‘ Majesty’s peculiar Favour to us, shall be  
‘ always manifested in constant Returns of  
‘ Duty and Obedience to her Majesty, and a  
‘ firm Resolution to do all in our Power,  
‘ under our present Circumstances, for dis-  
‘ charging the Debts of the Nation, and de-  
‘ fraying the Expences of the Establishment,  
‘ under the best of Queens, and your Grace’s  
‘ most happy Government.

*His*

*His Grace's Answer was,*

*Gentlemen,*

‘ I give you Thanks for your Address,  
‘ which is very obliging ; and will let her  
‘ Majesty know the Zeal you express for  
‘ her Service : I shall be always ready to  
‘ promote every Thing that may be for the  
‘ Honour and Interest of this Kingdom.

‘ On the last Day of *September*, the Com-  
‘ mons attended his Grace the Lord Lieute-  
‘ nant with an Address to the Queen, wherein  
‘ they begged Leave to embrace this first Op-  
‘ portunity of expressing the great Satisfaction  
‘ they received from her Majesty’s most hap-  
‘ py Accession to the Throne of her Royal  
‘ Ancestors ; and to congratulate the glo-  
‘ rious Success wherewith it had pleased God  
‘ to bless her Majesty’s Arms by Sea and  
‘ Land : Your Majesty’s constant Zeal for the  
‘ *Protestant* Religion, as by Law established  
‘ (added they) and sincere Concern for the  
‘ Welfare and Happiness of your People,  
‘ justly challenge a grateful Acknowledge-  
‘ ment from all your Subjects ; but we of  
‘ this Kingdom are in a more particular Man-  
‘ ner sensible of your Royal Goodness and  
‘ Favour in placing over us a Governor,  
‘ whose Conduct, Bravery, and unshaken Loyalty  
‘ to the Crown, and tender Care for this  
‘ his native Country, have rendered him e-  
‘ qually acceptable to your Majesty, and to us.  
‘ We cannot but with the deepest Concern  
‘ take

“ take Notice, to your Majesty, that our E-  
 “ nemies, by many malicious and groundless  
 “ Calumnies, have misrepresented us (the sad  
 “ and severe Effects whereof we too sensibly  
 “ feel) and especially as if we thought our-  
 “ selves, or desired to be, independent of the  
 “ Crown of *England*.

“ In Duty therefore to your Majesty, and  
 “ to vindicate ourselves from such foul and  
 “ unworthy Aspersions, we do here declare  
 “ and acknowledge, that the Kingdom of *Ire-*  
 “ *land* is annexed and united to the Imperial  
 “ Crown of *England*, and by the Laws and  
 “ Statutes of this Kingdom is declared to be  
 “ justly and rightfully depending upon, and  
 “ belonging, and for ever united, to the same,  
 “ and that it never entered into our Thoughts  
 “ to wish the contrary: The Happiness of this  
 “ Kingdom entirely depending on a steady  
 “ Duty paid to the Crown of *England*, and a  
 “ good Correspondence with your Majesty’s  
 “ Subjects of that Kingdom; and we do una-  
 “ nimously assure your Majesty, that we will,  
 “ to the utmost of our Power, support and  
 “ maintain your Majesty’s rightful and lawful  
 “ Title to the Crown of this Realm and the  
 “ Succession in the *Protestant* Line, as the  
 “ same is settled by Acts of Parliament in  
 “ *England*.”

The Lord Lieutenant told the Commons,  
 he would take care of sending this Address to  
 her Majesty, and that he was very glad when  
 they



they gave him these Opportunities, of assuring her Majesty of the Duty and Affection of her Subjects here for her Royal Person and Government.

On the 2d of *October* the Commons resolved, that it appeared to them that *John Trenchard*, Esq; *James Hamilton*, of *Tullamore*, Esq; and *Henry Longford*, Esq; were three of the Authors of a Paragraph in a Book printed at *London*, intituled, *The Report of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to enquire into the Irish Forfeitures*, wherein are these Words following: *And indeed it does appear, that the Freeholders of this Kingdom, through Length of Time, and by contracting new Friendships with the Irish, or by inter-purchasing with one another, but chiefly through a general Dislike of the Dispositions of the Forfeitures, are scarce willing to find any Person guilty of the late Rebellion even upon full Evidence*; they also resolved that *Mr. Trenchard* and *Mr. Longford* had, in the said Paragraph, scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the Protestant Freeholders of this Kingdom, and thereby endeavoured to create a Misunderstanding and Jealousy between the People of England, and the Protestants of this Kingdom; but, *Mr. Hamilton* being dead, the House put no Question as to him.

Five Days after the *Archbishops* and *Bishops* of the Kingdom of Ireland presented the following Address to the Lord Lieutenant:

May

*May it please your Grace,*

‘ We, the Archbishops and Bishops of the  
 ‘ Church of *Ireland*, have received an Ad-  
 ‘ dress from our Brethren the Clergy, who are  
 ‘ come to *Dublin* in Obedience to her Ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s Writ of Summons, in which they  
 ‘ insist on the Church’s Right to have a full  
 ‘ Convocation with every Parliament; and  
 ‘ have earnestly intreated us to apply to your  
 ‘ Grace, to obtain this our just and undoubted  
 ‘ Right; and to make the Meeting, to which  
 ‘ many of them have come from the remotest  
 ‘ Parts of the Kingdom, effectual to the pro-  
 ‘ moting the Good of the Church.

‘ We cannot but approve of their Request,  
 ‘ and humbly beseech your Grace, that you  
 ‘ would be pleased to lay before her Majesty  
 ‘ this our unanimous Petition and Claim, and  
 ‘ to move her Majesty to issue the Provincial  
 ‘ Writ to the several Archbishops, which,  
 ‘ according to Custom, have constantly ac-  
 ‘ companied the *Premonentes* Clause in the  
 ‘ Parliamentary Writs: The Bishops and  
 ‘ Clergy of this Kingdom being ambitious  
 ‘ to owe the Restitution of their Rights  
 ‘ solely to her Majesty, by your Grace’s  
 ‘ Mediation. And we press the more earnestly  
 ‘ for them at this Time, because we are ful-  
 ‘ ly persuaded, that there will be a very good  
 ‘ Agreement and Unanimity amongst us all,  
 ‘ and

‘ and also one united Zeal for the Glory of  
‘ God, and her Majesty’s Service,”

Signed,

<i>Narcissus Armagh,</i>	<i>Will. Dublin,</i>
<i>Jo. Tuam,</i>	<i>Rich. Meath,</i>
<i>Will. Clonfert and Kilmore,</i>	<i>Will. Killala,</i>
<i>O. Dromore,</i>	<i>St. Geo. Clogher,</i>
<i>Tho. Limerick,</i>	<i>Tho. Killallow,</i>
<i>Edw. Down and Connor,</i>	<i>S. Elphin,</i>
<i>D. Cork and Rosse,</i>	<i>Bar. Ferns and</i>
<i>Cha. Crow, Cloyne.</i>	<i>Laughlin,</i>

On the First and Second of the same Month,  
the Lords Spiritual and Temporal made the  
following Address to the Queen :

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

“ **W** E your Majesty’s most loyal and  
“ dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual  
“ and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do  
“ offer our unfeigned Thanks to Almighty  
“ God, for placing your Majesty upon the  
“ Throne of your Royal Ancestors, and bles-  
“ sing us with a Queen of such great Piety and  
“ Wisdom, who alone can repair the Loss of  
“ the Restorer of our common Liberties, our  
“ late Sovereign King *William* of glorious  
“ Memory, and make us still hope to be a  
“ flourishing and happy People.

“ Your Majesty’s unparalleled Resolution,  
“ in adhering to the *Protestant* Religion and  
“ Interest, when Popery and Arbitrary Power  
“ had almost overwhelmed both, must to

“ your Majesty’s Glory be ever remembered;  
 “ in all the *Protestant* Countries of *Europe*;  
 “ but more particularly in your Majesty’s  
 “ Kingdom of *Ireland*.

“ The great Care your Majesty upon all  
 “ Occasions shews for the Welfare of your Peo-  
 “ ple, and your tender Commiseration of such  
 “ of them as are in Distress, do give us, of this  
 “ Kingdom, Reason to hope that we shall al-  
 “ ways enjoy the Benefit of those Royal  
 “ Qualities ; since we can, with the greatest  
 “ Truth, affirm that none of your Subjects  
 “ think themselves more happy in being un-  
 “ der your Majesty’s Government than we,  
 “ who are most zealously devoted to your Ser-  
 “ vice and Interest, and that of the *Protestant*  
 “ Religion, as by Law established.

“ And we beg Leave to take this Opportu-  
 “ nity of assuring your Majesty, that we will,  
 “ to the utmost of our Power, support and  
 “ defend your Majesty’s Crown and Govern-  
 “ ment, and the Succession of the same in the  
 “ *Protestant* Line. And as we are sensible  
 “ that our Preservation is owing to our being  
 “ united to the Crown of *England*, so we are  
 “ convinced it would tend to our further Se-  
 “ curity and Happiness, to have a more com-  
 “ prehensive and entire Union with that  
 “ Kingdom.”

The next Day their Lordships wrote a Let-  
 ter to her Majesty in these Words :

*May*



May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and obedient Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, do (as in Duty bound) return our Praises to God, and Thanks to your Majesty, for your Royal and singular Care over, and Affection towards us, so signally manifested in your happy Choice of *James*, Duke of *Ormonde*, to be your Lieutenant and Chief Governor over this your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, which hath always flourished under the Government of his most noble Ancestors.

Never did any People stand more in Need of a Governor of such Heroic Virtues; and never did this Nation conceive greater Hopes, of having the present Difficulties they labour under removed, and your Majesty's and the *English* Interest of this Kingdom promoted, than under his Government: In the Administration whereof, we doubt not but his Grace will signalize his Prudence at Home, under your Majesty's most auspicious Influence, as he has his military Conduct Abroad, in the glorious Cause of the Liberties of *Europe*: And that he may do so, and that your Majesty's Reign may be long and prosperous over us, shall be the constant Prayers and Endeavours of your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient Subjects and Servants.' To which her Majesty return'd a gracious Answer, importing,

U

porting, ' That she took very kindly both  
 ' the Letter and the Address of the Lords ;  
 ' and that, as she depended on their Resolu-  
 ' tion and Zeal to do her Service, so they  
 ' might be assured of her Majesty's Care of all  
 ' their Interests, and her earnest Desire to pro-  
 ' mote the Happiness and Welfare of that  
 ' Kingdom, the Security of the Protestant  
 ' Religion, and the Peace and Prosperity of  
 ' the Church, as it is by Law established.'

On the 9th of *October*, a Petition was  
 presented to the House of Commons, in behalf  
 of the Governor and Company, for making  
 Hollow Sword-Blades in *England*; setting  
 forth, ' That the said Governor and Compa-  
 ' ny had proposed to lend Money at Interest,  
 ' at 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, upon Security of  
 ' Lands in *Ireland*, provided they might be in-  
 ' demnified therein from the Statutes of *Mor-*  
 ' *temain*; and praying, that Heads of a Bill  
 ' might be brought in for enabling them to  
 ' take the Conveyances of Lands in *Ireland*.'  
 The Petition was read, and ordered to lie on  
 the Table, to be considered by the Members  
 of the House. The 11th Mr. *Molsworth*  
 reported from the Committee of the whole  
 House, appointed to take into Consideration  
 the State of the Nation, that they had come to  
 a Resolution, which was agreed unto by the  
 House, that an humble Representation be  
 made to her Majesty, setting forth the pre-  
 sent distressed Condition of this Kingdom ;  
 he

he reported also several other Resolutions as Heads of the said Representation.

The same Day Mr. *Asgill*, a Member of the House, was heard in his Place upon an Information that he was the Author of a Book, entitled, '*An Argument, proving, that, according to the Covenant of eternal Life, revealed in the Scriptures, Men may be translated from hence into eternal Life, without passing through Death, altho' the human Nature of Christ himself could not be thus translated, till he passed thro' Death.*' Several Witnesses were examined, touching that Matter; and the House having heard what Mr. *Asgill* could say, in his own Justification, he withdrew, and then it was immediately resolved, *That it appeared to the House, that John Asgill, Esq; Member of this House, is the Author of the said Book: Resolved also, That John Asgill, Esq; a Member of this House, be expelled the House, and be for ever incapable of being chosen, returned, or Sitting Member in any succeeding Parliament in this Kingdom.*

The 13th, the House took into farther Consideration the Lord Lieutenant's Speech, and the Supply to be granted to her Majesty, and came to several Resolutions, which were ordered to be reported the next Day. The 14th, the House ordered Major *Clayton* to carry the Heads of a Bill to make it High Treason in this Kingdom, '*by Word or Writing, to impeach the Succession of the Crown, as limited by several Acts of Parliament*' to his

Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and desired the same might be transmitted into *England* in due Form. Mr. *Ludlow* reported the Resolutions, taken the Day before in a Committee of the whole House on a Supply, which were unanimously agreed to, by the House, and were, 'That the Funds formerly granted by Parliament, and the Revenue of the Kingdom, were sufficient to support the Government, and discharge the Public Debts, due to and for *Michaelmas* 1703. That the Supply, to be granted to her Majesty, be a Sum sufficient to make up the Deficiency of the Revenue, to support the necessary Branches of the Establishment for two Years, ending at *Michaelmas* 1705.' The House returned Thanks to the Committee, appointed to inspect and examine the Public Accompts of the Nation, for their Care, faithful and diligent Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; whereby they had saved the Kingdom the Sum of 103,368*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* which by Misrepresentation was charged as a Debt upon the Nation. And the said Committee was ordered to examine and report to the House, what Persons had been concerned in making a Representation, that the Sum aforesaid, over and above the Funds formerly granted by Parliament, and the Revenue of this Kingdom, was necessary to support the Government, and discharge the Public Debt to and for *Michaelmas* 1703. Two Days after, viz. the 16th, the Lord Lieutenant came to the House of Lords,



Lords, and gave the Royal Assent to three Acts: The first, *For an Additional Duty of Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors*: The second, *For encouraging the Importation of Iron and Staves*: And the third, *To prevent Popish Priests coming into that Kingdom*. And on the 18th, his Grace having appointed the Commons to attend him in the Castle, he acquainted them with her Majesty's most gracious Answer to their last Address, which was, *That her Majesty was extremely pleased with the Assurance they gave her of their Duty to her, and of their Affection and due Regard to the Crown of England; that they should find by her Readiness to advance the Good of that Kingdom, that she had received no ill Impression of them, and did not doubt, but upon all Occasions they would shew such Respect to her, as to deserve the Continuance of her Majesty's Favour to them; and should therefore give such Dispatch to their public Affairs, as the Condition of that Kingdom required.*

On the Day before, Mr. Moleworth made his Report from the Committee, appointed to enquire into the State of the Nation; upon which the Commons drew up and presented to the Lord Lieutenant a Representation, to be delivered to her Majesty, the Substance of which was, 'That whereas her Majesty's  
' Royal Predecessors, of blessed Memory, had  
' always had the Glory of being Kings and  
' Queens of a free People, distinguished from  
' the rest of *Europe*, by the eminent Privi-

‘ lege of being governed by their own Laws,  
‘ and of enjoying Liberties under the Domi-  
‘ nion of a Sovereign Prince, according to the  
‘ most equal and just Model of Government  
‘ that was ever framed : Yet the Constitution  
‘ of that Kingdom of *Ireland* had been of  
‘ late greatly shaken, the Lives, Liberties, and  
‘ Estates of the Subjects thereof being called  
‘ in Question, and tried in a Manner unknown  
‘ to their Ancestors. That when they consi-  
‘ dered the Charge, which the Subjects of that  
‘ Kingdom had been unnecessarily put to, by  
‘ the late Trustees, in defending such their just  
‘ Rights and Titles, as had, after many and  
‘ expensive Delays, been allowed by the said  
‘ Trustees, had exceeded in Value the current  
‘ Cash of that Kingdom, they had but too  
‘ great Reason to believe, that this had been  
‘ principally occasioned through false and ma-  
‘ licious Reports, and Misrepresentations made  
‘ of the Protestants of that Kingdom by de-  
‘ signing and ill-meaning Men, in order to cre-  
‘ ate a Misunderstanding between *England*  
‘ and *Ireland*, and to promote beneficial Em-  
‘ ployments for themselves ; for altho’ her  
‘ Majesty had been graciously pleased to assure  
‘ them, that nothing of that Kind had made  
‘ any Impression on her Majesty to their Pre-  
‘ judice ; yet they were very sensible that that  
‘ Nation had suffered exceedingly thereby in  
‘ the Opinion of *England*.

‘ That they could not, without the greatest  
‘ Grief of Heart, reflect upon the great De-  
‘ cay

‘ say and Loss of their Trade; that, that  
‘ Kingdom being almost exhausted of its Cash,  
‘ they hindered from earning their Livelihood,  
‘ and from maintaining their own Manufac-  
‘ turies, their Poor were thereby become very  
‘ numerous, especially the industrious *Pro-*  
‘ *testants*, who, in a Country, wherein the  
‘ Number and Power of the *Papists* is very  
‘ formidable, ought, as they humbly con-  
‘ ceived, to be encouraged: That very many  
‘ *Protestant* Families had been constrained to  
‘ remove out of that Kingdom, as well into  
‘ *Scotland*, as to the Dominions of foreign  
‘ Princes and States: That their foreign Trade  
‘ and its Returns were under such Restrictions  
‘ and Discouragements, as now to become  
‘ in a Manner unprofitable, although that  
‘ Kingdom had of late, by its Blood and  
‘ Treasure, contributed, to save the Planta-  
‘ tion Trade to the People of *England*. That  
‘ the Want of holding frequent Parliaments in  
‘ *Ireland* had been a great Encouragement  
‘ to evil-minded Men, who intended nothing  
‘ but their own Gain, though accompanied  
‘ with the Ruin and Oppression of her Ma-  
‘ jesty’s good Subjects: That many Civil  
‘ Officers were arrived at such a Pitch of Cor-  
‘ ruption through Hopes of Impunity, as was  
‘ insupportable, thereby getting vast Estates  
‘ in a short Time in a poor Country: That  
‘ others in considerable Employments did  
‘ dwell and reside for the most part out of  
‘ that Kingdom, thereby neglecting their per-

sonal Attendance on their Duties, whilst in the mean time their Offices (which in Effect were made mere *Sine-cures*) were but indifferently executed, to the great Detriment of her Majesty's good Subjects, and the great Failure of Justice: So that they were fully convinced, that nothing but frequent Parliaments, with Permission for them to sit, and do the Business of the Nation, could prevent and reform so great and notorious Abuses. That they offered to her Majesty's princely Consideration this their most humble Representation, with Hearts full of a Sense of their miserable Condition, yet supported with the Hopes they had from the auspicious Reign of her most sacred Majesty, not doubting her Majesty's Care and Protection of them; for 'twas from her Majesty's gracious Interposition alone in their Favour, that they proposed to themselves Relief from these their manifold Groans and Misfortunes. And that they could not despair of her Majesty's Goodness, extended towards them in such prudent and gracious Manners, as might afford them Relief, according to the Exigence of their Condition, by restoring to them a full Enjoyment of their Constitution, or by promoting a firm and strict Union with her Majesty's Subjects of *England*, which would be to the Advantage of that Kingdom, nothing being a more certain Truth, than that whatever Riches *Ireland* can acquire, must  
at



‘ at last center in the Seat of the Govern-  
 ‘ ment.’ Concluding with these affectionate  
 Wishes: ‘ May the choicest Blessings of the  
 ‘ great Creator and Preserver of all Things  
 ‘ constantly attend your most sacred Majesty;  
 ‘ may you long continue to be the choicest  
 ‘ Blessing of your People, and the *Affertor*  
 ‘ *of the Liberties of Europe*; and may we,  
 ‘ your poor Subjects of *Ireland*, be an emi-  
 ‘ nent Instance of your Majesty, having a  
 ‘ just Right to that most glorious Title: That  
 ‘ we may heartily join with the rest of Man-  
 ‘ kind, in proclaiming that your most ex-  
 ‘ cellent Majesty is not only the greatest,  
 ‘ but the best and justest Princess that ever  
 ‘ reigned.’

On the 25th of *October*, Mr. *Southwell*, Se-  
 cretary of State, acquainted the House of Com-  
 mons by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant’s  
 Command, *That their Representation was a*  
*Matter of the highest Consequence; and that*  
*his Grace would take such Care of it, as might*  
*most conduce to the Service of the Nation.*  
 The same Day the Commons voted the fol-  
 lowing Pensions to be unnecessary Branches of  
 the Establishment:

	<i>Per Annum l. s. d.</i>
To the Presbyterian Ministers in } <i>Ulster</i>	1200 00 00
To the Duke of <i>St. Albans</i>	800 00 00
To the Earl of <i>Ranelagh</i> for 21 } Years from the 25th of <i>March</i>	300 00 00
1699	
	To

To <i>George Rodney Bridges, Esq;</i>			
during the Life of the Earl of	}	1600	00 00
<i>Rochester</i>			
To <i>Edward Prodgers, Esq;</i>		200	00 00
To Colonel <i>O Donnell</i>		500	00 00
To Lieut. Col. <i>Freak</i> , of Lieut.	}	127	15 00
General <i>Earle's</i> Regiment			
To Lieut. Colonel <i>Montargy's</i>		273	15 00
To Lieut. Col. <i>Guilam's</i>		109	10 00
To Major <i>Montjoy</i>		81	5 00
To Lieut. <i>Philip</i>		36	10 00
To the half-pay Officers		3814	5 00
To the Countess of <i>Dorchester</i>		5000	00 00
To the Lord of <i>St. Albans</i>		1642	10 3½
To the Lord Viscount <i>Dillan</i>		455	13 1
To Sir <i>Valentine Brown</i>		710	17 3
To the Earl of <i>Fingall</i>		267	1 9
To <i>Thomas Brown</i>		279	7 6
To <i>Dudly Bagnall, Esq;</i>		245	6 4

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Total per Annum 17634 17 ½

They also ordered, that an Account be given to the House, when, and which of the half-pay Officers had been provided for, and how they had been disposed of; and resolved, that three Addresſes be made to the Lord Lieutenant; one, that the half-pay Officers, formerly struck off, be provided for; another, that all Judges, Commissioners of the Revenues, and others, having Offices in that Kingdom, which required personal Attendance, be obliged to attend or be removed; and the third,

third, that effectual Care be taken, that the Barracks in that Kingdom might, for the future, be maintained at easy and reasonable Rates, so as the Undertakers might have no unreasonable Salaries and Prices for the same. The next Day they granted 150,000 Pounds to her Majesty to make good the Deficiency of the necessary Branches of the Establishment, for the Support of the Government, for two Years commencing at *Michaelmas* 1703; and the following Days proceeded on Ways and Means to raise the same. The 30th of *October* they finished the Heads of a Bill for *securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Prevention of Imprisonment beyond the Seas*; and ordered the said Heads of a Bill to be carried to the Lord Lieutenant, that the same might be transmitted into *England*. On the 3d of *November* the House being reminded, that the next Day was the Birth-day of the late King William, of glorious Memory, our Deliverer from Popery and Slavery; and that the Fifth was the Commemoration for the Discovery of the Gun-powder Treason, they thereupon adjourned to the 6th of the same Month: Upon the 8th the Commons went through the Heads of a Bill for naturalizing all Protestant Strangers, and ordered the same to be carried to the Lord Lieutenant, with a Desire that it might be transmitted to *England* in due Form. A Fortnight after the House of Commons with their Speaker attended his Grace, and presented to him Heads of a Bill

*to prevent the farther Growth of Popery; and also Heads of another Bill to encourage the Linnen Manufacture of that Kingdom, and an Address of the House of Commons to her Majesty.*

On this Occasion, the Speaker made a Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, importing  
 ‘ That they looked on the first of these  
 ‘ two Bills to be of such Importance to their  
 ‘ future Well-being, that they had begged  
 ‘ Leave to attend his Grace in a Body with  
 ‘ it, and not send it as in Cases of less Weight  
 ‘ is usual, by particular Members; that the  
 ‘ Opposition constantly made in *England* by  
 ‘ the *Papists* of *Ireland*, against whatever  
 ‘ might tend to the Security of her Majesty’s  
 ‘ *Protestant* Subjects, induced the Commons  
 ‘ to lay these Heads of a Bill in this solemn  
 ‘ Manner before his Grace. That they thought  
 ‘ it now more particularly necessary, being  
 ‘ well informed and fully convinced, that great  
 ‘ Sums of Money had been lately raised  
 ‘ among them to oppose the Passing a Bill  
 ‘ of this Nature in *England*: Yet they doubt-  
 ‘ ed not, but the Weight of the Thing, and  
 ‘ Justice of their Desires, would be so effec-  
 ‘ tually lain before her Majesty, by his Grace,  
 ‘ that all Obstacles would be surmounted, and  
 ‘ an Opportunity given them of assenting to  
 ‘ the Passing into a Law, what they con-  
 ‘ ceived would be the greatest Security to the  
 ‘ *Protestant* Religion and Interest there. That  
 ‘ they had also framed and agreed to the  
 Heads



‘ Heads of a Bill for the Improvement of the  
 ‘ Linnen Manufacture, which they conceived,  
 ‘ in Time, might become useful to that King-  
 ‘ dom, if Liberty should be given them to  
 ‘ transport the Linnen Manufacture thereof,  
 ‘ directly to the Plantations; but would other-  
 ‘ wise be destructive to the same. That to  
 ‘ obtain such Liberty they had framed an  
 ‘ humble Address to her Majesty, and relied  
 ‘ on her great Goodness to, and Care of, her  
 ‘ distressed People of that Kingdom. That  
 ‘ her Majesty would be pleased graciously to  
 ‘ interpose in their Favour with the Parlia-  
 ‘ ment of *England*, that such Freedom  
 ‘ might be allowed them: as one of the  
 ‘ Encouragements, which had induced them  
 ‘ to believe they should on their going  
 ‘ into the Linnen Trade, were the Ad-  
 ‘ dresses of the Lords and Commons of  
 ‘ *England*, which Addresses they prayed his  
 ‘ Grace to lay before her Majesty.’ There-  
 upon the Lord Lieutenant assured them,  
*That he would take Care to transmit these two*  
*Bills, which were so much for the Interest of*  
*the Nation, and recommend them in the most*  
*effectual Manner, according to their Desire, and*  
*do all that was in his Power, to prevent the*  
*Growth of Popery.* Three Days after the Com-  
 mons voted a Book, printed and published by  
*Brocas and Moloany*, entituled, *The Memoirs*  
*of the late King James the II<sup>d</sup>, &c.* seditious,  
 and ordered it to be burnt by the Hands of the  
 common Hangman at the Exchange and before

the Parliament-house. They also ordered that *Brocas* the Printer, *Moloany* the Bookfeller, and one *Eustace*, who brought the said Memoirs of King *James* from *England*, and gave them to *Moloany* to print, to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. When the Motion was made for burning the Book and prosecuting the Printer, a Speech was made by a Member, setting forth the great Danger the *Protestants* were in, in some Parts of *Ireland*, particularly the County of *Limerick*, where the *Irish* were beginning to form themselves into Bodies, and to plunder the *Protestants* of their Arms and Money; and that the Disaffected here held a Correspondence with those in *England*, and were not out of Hopes of restoring the pretended Prince of *Wales*. Whereupon the House resolved, that it appeared to them, ‘ that the *Papists* of that Kingdom still retained Hopes of the Coming in of the Person, who went by the Name of the Prince of *Wales*, in the Life of the late King *James*, and now by the Name of *James* the III<sup>d</sup>.’ The same Day Mr. Secretary *Southwell* informed the House of Commons, That he was commanded by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint the House, that it was his Grace’s Pleasure, that the House should adjourn itself till the 11<sup>th</sup> of *January* next; which was accordingly done.

Her Majesty's Birth-Day was solemnized in *Ireland* with great Pomp, and universal Joy ; particularly in the City of *Dublin*, where, on the 6th of *February*, the Nobility and Gentry, then in Town, waited on the Duke of *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant, at the *Castle*, and from thence attended his Grace in great State to *Christ-Church*, where a Sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop of *Down and Connor*. His Grace afterwards returned in like Manner to the *Castle*, and gave the Company a very splendid Entertainment, the great Guns round the *Castle* being thrice fired, and three Vollies by the Regiments on Foot, at her Majesty's Health. The next Day her Grace the Dutchess of *Ormonde* invited all the Ladies to a Play in the Evening, and from thence his Grace carried them to *St. Stephen's Green*, to see the Fire-works made on this Occasion ; which being ended, the Company returned to the *Castle* ; and after a very noble Supper, where none but the Duke and Dutchess and the Ladies sat, the Remainder of the Night was concluded with a Ball, and in the City with Bonfires, Illuminations, Ringing of Bells, and other Demonstrations of Public Joy and Satisfaction suitable to the Day.

*A few Days after the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, presented the following Address to the Duke of Ormonde, to be transmitted to her Majesty:*

‘ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal  
‘ Subjects, the Archbishops, Bishops, and the  
‘ rest of the Clergy in *Ireland*, in Convoca-  
‘ tion assembled, do with all Humility adore  
‘ the Goodness of God, in placing your Ma-  
‘ jesty on the Throne of your Royal Ance-  
‘ stors, to be in a more especial Manner the  
‘ Defender of the Faith, and the Protector of  
‘ the established Church; for as in a less emi-  
‘ nent Station, even in difficult Times, your  
‘ Majesty recommended unto all an exact  
‘ Conformity to its Doctrine and Discipline,  
‘ by your Princely Example, so, ever since  
‘ your Accession to the Crown, you have  
‘ made it your chief Care to support its Ho-  
‘ nour by your Royal Authority.

‘ And we humbly beg Leave at this present  
‘ Juncture to declare our Gratitude to your  
‘ Majesty for restoring to us, after so long a Dis-  
‘ continuance, our Right of assembling in a  
‘ National Convocation, being fully perswaded  
‘ that this public Instance, of your Royal Ju-  
‘ stice, will be no inconsiderable Addition to  
‘ the other Glories of your Majesty’s Reign.

‘ And we further hold ourselves obliged to  
‘ express the great Satisfaction, we all receive,  
‘ in your Majesty’s appointing his Grace the  
‘ Duke of *Ormonde*, to be Governor of this  
‘ Kingdom, whose Inclinations will lead him  
‘ to consult the Welfare of his native Country,  
‘ and whose hereditary Zeal for the Church,  
‘ by Law established, will engage him to de-  
‘ fend its Rights and promote its Interest.

‘ That



‘ That as we are now assembled in a national  
 ‘ Synod, with a stedfast Resolution to assert  
 ‘ and maintain the Truth of the Christian  
 ‘ Faith, against all unreasonable and wicked  
 ‘ Men, and to establish in the Minds of those  
 ‘ committed to our Charge a firm Belief of its  
 ‘ holy Doctrines, so we assure your Majesty,  
 ‘ that we will employ our utmost Care and  
 ‘ Diligence, to oblige them to a conscientious  
 ‘ Observance of its holy Precepts, and parti-  
 ‘ cularly to perswade them to express the Sin-  
 ‘ cerity of their Religion, by paying all due  
 ‘ Honour to your Majesty’s Person, by a  
 ‘ chearful and steady Obedience to your Go-  
 ‘ vernment.

‘ And we humbly beseech Almighty God  
 ‘ to bless your Majesty with good Success in  
 ‘ all your Councils and Undertakings, and to  
 ‘ reward your pious Endeavours, for suppres-  
 ‘ sing the Growth of Prophaness and Immora-  
 ‘ lity, and for promoting the Peace of *Europe*  
 ‘ and the Prosperity of your Subjects, with e-  
 ‘ ternal Happiness.

‘ *That illustrious and reverend Assembly present-*  
 ‘ *ed at the same Time, the following Address*  
 ‘ *Grace the Lord Lieutenant :*

‘ We the Archbishops, and Bishops, and  
 ‘ the rest of the Clergy of *Ireland*, in Convo-  
 ‘ cation assembled, do with all Gratitude ac-  
 ‘ knowledge, that as your most noble Ance-  
 ‘ stors, have always distinguished themselves,  
 X ‘ by

‘ by espousing the Interest of the Church as  
 ‘ by Law established, so it is your Grace’s pe-  
 ‘ culiar Glory, to have been the Instrument  
 ‘ of retrieving our ancient Right of meeting  
 ‘ with every Parliament in a national Convo-  
 ‘ cation.

‘ All good Men observe, with great Con-  
 ‘ cern, that the Christian Faith has, in this,  
 ‘ as well as former Ages, been corrupted by  
 ‘ Heresies; and the Discipline of the Church  
 ‘ very much weaken’d by licentious Practices;  
 ‘ and rejoice to see this Synod conven’d, in  
 ‘ which we hope proper Remedies will be ap-  
 ‘ plied, for the Cure of those Evils, accord-  
 ‘ ing to the Examples of primitive Times.

‘ We resolve by God’s Grace to manage our  
 ‘ Debates with Unanimity, Temper, and  
 ‘ prudent Zeal; and to have no other View  
 ‘ in our Sessions, but the Glory of God, and  
 ‘ the Good of his Church; being assured we  
 ‘ shall thereby recommend ourselves to the  
 ‘ Continuance of her Majesty’s Protection,  
 ‘ and your Grace’s Favour.

‘ *Not many Days after, the two Houses of Par-*  
 ‘ *liament in Ireland delivered the two follow-*  
 ‘ *ing Addresses, to his Grace the Duke of*  
 ‘ *Ormonde to be transmitted to her Majesty,*  
 ‘ *That of the Lords was as follows:*

‘ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal  
 ‘ Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,  
 ‘ in Parliament assembled, out of a grateful  
 ‘ Sense

‘ Sense of the many Blessings we receive by  
‘ your wise and just Administration at Home,  
‘ and the prosperous Success of your Arms  
‘ Abroad, humbly beg Leave to declare our  
‘ Detestation of the pernicious Designs, which  
‘ have lately been carried on in *Scotland*, by  
‘ Emissaries from *France*, to disturb the Hap-  
‘ piness of your glorious Reign.

‘ And we assure your Majesty that we will  
‘ at all Times use out utmost Care to prevent,  
‘ and our most hearty Endeavours to defeat,  
‘ all traiterous Conspiracies against your Ma-  
‘ jesty, and to defend your Royal Person and  
‘ Government, and maintain the Succession  
‘ in the Protestant Line as limited by Law,  
‘ against all Opposers.

‘ And since your Majesty has been pleased  
‘ to express a just Concern for the Preservation  
‘ of the Monarchy, and a zealous Regard to  
‘ the Welfare of the established Church ; we  
‘ further declare our unanimous Resolution of  
‘ assisting your Majesty in transmitting them  
‘ securely settled to all Posterity, being fully  
‘ persuaded that, as the one is the most happy  
‘ Form of Government, so the other is the  
‘ best constituted Church in the World.

*The Commons Address runs thus :*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ **W**E your Majesty’s most dutiful and  
‘ loyal Subjects, the Commons in  
‘ Parliament assembled, most humbly beg  
‘ Leave

‘ Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the  
 ‘ happy Discovery of the late pernicious  
 ‘ Practices carried on in *Scotland*, by the E-  
 ‘ missaries of *France*, against your Majesty’s  
 ‘ Government, and the Peace of your King-  
 ‘ dom.

‘ We lie under so high Obligations to your  
 ‘ Majesty, and are so much interested in the  
 ‘ Preservation of your Royal Person and Govern-  
 ‘ ment, that we should be wanting to ourselves,  
 ‘ if, on this and all other Occasions, we should  
 ‘ not express our utter Abhorrence of all Plots  
 ‘ and Conspiracies against a Queen so gracious  
 ‘ and so justly entitled to the Love of her Sub-  
 ‘ jects; and we humbly beseech your Majesty  
 ‘ to accept our most sincere Assurance, that we  
 ‘ will, to the utmost of our Power, assist and  
 ‘ support your Majesty and your Government  
 ‘ against all your open and secret Enemies,  
 ‘ maintain the Succession of the Crown, as  
 ‘ settled in the Protestant Line, and the  
 ‘ Church of *Ireland*, as by Law established.

The Session of the Parliament drawing to  
 an End, the two Houses of Parliament at-  
 tended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with  
 their respective Addresses to the Queen, ac-  
 knowledging her Majesty’s tender Care for  
 this her Kingdom of *Ireland*, and for those  
 happy Effects of her Majesty’s great Wis-  
 dom and Goodness, the many excellent Bills  
 by her Order transmitted to them, particu-  
 larly those for preventing the further Growth  
 of *Popery*. Adding, ‘ that, as they doubted  
 ‘ not



' not but these good Laws would advance the  
 ' Prosperity of the *English* Interest in that  
 ' Kingdom ; so they thought themselves o-  
 ' bliged in Gratitude and Duty to assure her  
 ' Majesty, that they would contribute all they  
 ' could to those glorious Ends ; that they and  
 ' their Posterity might celebrate her Majesty's  
 ' Reign, which had been distinguished by such  
 ' effectual Marks of her Royal Favour, and  
 ' which they earnestly prayed might be long  
 ' and happy over them ; and moreover that they  
 ' would support and maintain her Royal Per-  
 ' son and Government, the Protestant Suc-  
 ' cession as settled by Acts of Parliament in  
 ' *England*, and the Church of *Ireland* as by  
 ' Law established.' Both Houses at the same  
 Time, in two other Addresses to the Lord Lieu-  
 tenant, acknowledged and congratulated the  
 good Effects of his Grace's indefatigable Ap-  
 plication, as well in the framing as in obtain-  
 ing the Return of the many good Bills from  
 her Majesty, now ready for the Royal Assent;  
 and they were so sensible of the great Part  
 his Grace had in the dispensing these Favours  
 to them, that as they were obliged by Inte-  
 rest and Duty to support her Majesty's  
 Crown and Dignity, so they should always  
 endeavour to contribute to his Grace's Ho-  
 nour and Ease in the Administration of that  
 Government. *When we recollect* ( added  
 the Commons in their Address ) ' The  
 ' honourable Part your most noble Grandfa-  
 ' ther had in the Settlement of the Protestant

‘ Interest in this Kingdom, we cannot but  
 ‘ congratulate your Grace’s greater Glory and  
 ‘ Fidelity, in being the Instrument, under her  
 ‘ Majesty, of giving a more lasting Security  
 ‘ to the *Protestant* Religion, than ever it had  
 ‘ since the Reformation.

‘ The Experience we had of your Grace’s  
 ‘ Goodness to us, does justly encourage us to  
 ‘ beseech your Grace, to represent to her Ma-  
 ‘ jesty the State of this Kingdom, the Diffi-  
 ‘ culties we lie under, and the Zeal we have  
 ‘ shewn this Session to support her Majesty’s  
 ‘ Government to the utmost of our Power,  
 ‘ and to continue your generous Instances in  
 ‘ our Favour ; that this Nation may be ren-  
 ‘ dered entirely happy, in her Majesty’s most  
 ‘ auspicious Reign, and under your Grace’s  
 ‘ Administration.’

On the 4th of *March* his Grace came with the usual Formalities to the House of Peers ; and, the Commons being sent for up, his Grace gave the Royal Assent to 24 public and private Acts :

*An Act for continuing the additional Duty on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors ; and for granting an additional Duty on Tobacco, and several other Goods and Merchandizes ; and also a Tax of four Shillings in the Pound on several Pensions and Grants therein mentioned ; and for building of Barracks in the City of Dublin.*

*An Act to make it High Treason in this Kingdom to impeach the Succession of the Crown, as limited by several Acts of Parliament. An Act*

*An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery. An Act to prohibit Butchers from being Graziers, and to redress several Abuses in buying and selling Cattle, and in the slaughtering and packing of Beef, Tallow, and Hides. An Act for Registering the Popish Clergy in this Kingdom. An Act for naturalizing all Protestant Strangers in this Kingdom. An Act for reducing the Interest of Money to Eight per Cent. Civil Bills. An Act for quieting Possessions, and disposing the undisposed and Plus Acres. An Act for quieting Ecclesiastical Persons in their Possessions. An Act for the Exchange of Glebes, belonging to Churches in this Kingdom. An Act for reviving an Act for taking away the Benefit of Clergy in some Cases, and for transporting Felons. An Act for building several Parish Churches in more convenient Places. An Act to supply the Defect in an Act passed in the seventh Year of the late King William, intituled, An Act for the better regulating of Measures in and throughout this Kingdom. An Act for continuing two Acts against Tories, Robbers, and Rapparees, and to ten private Acts.*

After which his Grace made the following Speech to both Houses :

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ It is with great Satisfaction that I can  
‘ at the End of this Session say, that I have  
‘ performed what I promised in the Begin-  
‘ ing; but the Success of my Endeavours,  
‘ which you have expressed in your Ad-

‘ drefles, must be solely attributed to her  
‘ Majesty, whose extraordinary Goodness has  
‘ given you so many and so good Laws in  
‘ this Session of Parliament.

‘ Her Majesty has, by the Act concerning  
‘ *Plus Acres*, parted with her own Property to  
‘ enlarge and secure yours : And, by the Acts  
‘ *to prevent the further Growth of Popery*, has,  
‘ as far as in her lies, established your Religion  
‘ for the Time to come.

‘ I will not fail to represent to her Majesty,  
‘ that the faithful Commons of *Ireland*, out  
‘ of their Zeal to her Service, and in Return  
‘ of these Royal Condescensions, have cheer-  
‘ fully given her Majesty as great a Supply  
‘ as the present Circumstances of their Condi-  
‘ tion would permit.

‘ It were indeed to be wished, that you  
‘ Gentlemen of the House of Commons could  
‘ have now provided for what is still owing to  
‘ the Civil and Military Lists; and the rather,  
‘ because the Arrears (a State of which the  
‘ Commissioners of the Revenue were order’d  
‘ by me to lay before you at the Opening of this  
‘ Parliament) must be applied to make good  
‘ the Deficiencies of the current Year, as has been  
‘ done in former Governments. But I hope  
‘ our next Meeting will give you an Oppor-  
‘ tunity of providing for it; and that the Suc-  
‘ cess of her Majesty’s Arms in the mean Time  
‘ may put you into such Circumstances as  
‘ may render it easy to you.



*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ As I will upon all Occasions faithfully represent to the Queen a true State of this Kingdom, and in the most effectual Manner recommend it to her Majesty, for the Continuance of her Grace and Favour, so I most earnestly recommend to you that on your Parts, and in your several Countries, you take such Care of the Public Peace, and the Execution of the good Laws already made, that we may reap all the Benefit of her Majesty’s most happy Government.’

*And then his Grace, according to the Orders he had received from England, prorogued the Parliament to the 3d of October next.*

His Grace having given the necessary Directions for the Government of *Ireland*, and the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Mount Alexander*, and Lieutenant-General *Erle* being appointed Lords Justices, his Grace embarked for *England*, about the middle of *March*, and arrived in good Health at *Chester* the 22d, and from thence proceeded towards *London*; where he arrived the 27th, being met several Miles out of Town by a great Number of Persons of Quality.

On the 7th of *September*, being appointed by the Queen a Day of public Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdom of *England* for the Victory of *Hochstet*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, attended her Majesty in Procession to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul’s*.

On the 14th of *October*, her Majesty being then at *Windsor*, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, presented the following Address from the County of the Town of *Drogheda* to her Majesty :

The humble Address of the Mayor, Sheriff, Burgesses, and Commons of your Majesty's ancient County of the Town of *Drogheda*, in your Kingdom of *Ireland*.

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal  
 ‘ Subjects, being highly sensible of the wonderful Blessings, that *God* hath been pleased  
 ‘ to signalize to your Majesty, in the extraordinary Success he hath given to your Arms  
 ‘ and those of your Allies, under the Conduct  
 ‘ of your Captain-General, his Grace the Duke  
 ‘ of *Marlborough*, by the obtaining two such  
 ‘ glorious Victories in *Germany*, over the  
 ‘ *French* King, who thought his Armies invincible.

‘ We do therefore most humbly offer up our  
 ‘ most hearty Thanks and Praises to Almighty  
 ‘ *God*, and adore his divine Providence, that  
 ‘ he hath been pleased to preserve, and raise  
 ‘ up your sacred Majesty to be the glorious  
 ‘ Instrument in his Hand to reduce that ambitious Monarch.

‘ And we most humbly crave Leave to assure  
 ‘ your Majesty, That it is, and ever shall be,  
 ‘ our hearty Prayers to Almighty *God*, that  
 ‘ he will continue his Favour to your Majesty,  
 ‘ and

‘ and crown you with Success in your Undertakings, that you may live long to govern these Kingdoms, to hold the Ballance of *Europe*, to be the Preserver and Protector of the Reformed Religion Abroad, and of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, as by Law established at Home.

‘ And we most humbly crave leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall be always ready, with our Lives and Fortunes, to stand by and assist your Majesty, to the utmost of our Power, in the Defence of your Majesty’s most Sacred Person and Government, the Established Religion, and the *Protestant Succession*.’

In Testimony whereof we have hereunto affixed our Common Seal, the 2d Day of *October*, 1704.

His Grace moreover introduced Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, who presented her Majesty an Address from the Town of *Brecon*.

*October* the 22d, the Duke of *Ormonde* presented to her Majesty an Address of the High-Sheriff, Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Longford*, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace held for the said County, the 5th Day of *October*, 1704; also an Address of the Sovereign, Recorder, Bayliffs, Burgessees, and Freemen of the Corporation of *Longford*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. One from the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Citizens of her Majesty’s City of *Waterford*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Novem-*

*November 15*, his Grace embarked at *Holyhead*, and set Sail about Twelve that Night, and landed in *Ireland* the next Day about Noon. His Grace was received at *Rings-end*, by an extraordinary Number of the Nobility, and Gentry in thier Coaches, and was met at *Lazy-hill*, by the Lord-Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of *Dublin*: The Streets were lined from the lower End of *Lazy-hill* to the *Castle*, by two Regiments of the Army, and as many of the City Militia; the great Guns were fired, and there was Ringing of Bells, and all other Demonstrations of Public Joy, for his Grace's safe Arrival.

On the 28th of *January*, his Grace issued a Proclamation, giving Notice to the Members of both Houses of the Parliament of this Kingdom, that, whereas it was prorogued to the 10th of the next Month, his Grace had thought fit that it should then meet, and proceed upon Business. Accordingly the Parliament met on the 10th of *February*, and the Duke of *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant, being come to the House of Peers, attended by the great Officers of State, the Peers, Officers at Arms, &c. sent for the House of Commons, and made the following Speech to both Houses:

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

' You gave me Reason to believe, when I  
' put an End to the last Session, that the  
' many good Bills that were then passed gave  
' entire Satisfaction; and as I have since per-  
formed



‘ formed the Promise I then made you, to represent to her Majesty the true State of this Kingdom, and with what Chearfulness her faithful Commons gave such Supplies as their Circumstances would then permit; so I am now to assure you, her Majesty is fully satisfied of the Loyalty and good Affections of her Subjects here, and therefore depends upon your having always the same good Disposition to support her Government; and that you will never want the Regard you ought to have for our common Safety.

‘ Her Majesty is sensible of the present ill Condition of Trade, and though that be chiefly owing to the War, and cannot be entirely removed until the farther Success of her victorious Arms forces her Enemies to an honourable Peace; yet I have Reason to hope, that we shall soon find the good Effects of her Majesty’s gracious Endeavours for our Relief.’

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

‘ Her Majesty’s Honour and the Interest of this Kingdom are so much concerned in the punctual Payment of the Army, and the other necessary Charges of the Government, that I cannot doubt, but you will make a suitable Provision for the same. And that you may have a perfect View of what is owing by the Queen to her Establishment, and what may be expected out of the several Branches of the Revenue; I have ordered

‘ ordered the proper Officers to lay their Accounts before you; which when you have considered, you will find that the Arrears of the preceding Year, must always be applied to make good the Payments of the present Year, and that in this Time of War and Danger, there is a Necessity of having Money in the Treasury, to answer sudden Emergencies.

‘ It will likewise be very well worth your Consideration, that Care be taken of the Fortifications, and of such a Supply of Arms, and Ammunition, as may secure the Public from any Insult of our Enemies.’

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ I have nothing more to recommend to you, but that you will make use of this favourable Opportunity, that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow you, to consider of such Laws as may be further necessary for the publick Peace and Prosperity; and that you will chearfully concur in bringing this Session to such a happy Conclusion, as may be for the Honour of her Majesty and good of this Nation.’

A Week after, both Houses severally attended his Grace with their Addresses to her Majesty, and with an Address of Thanks from each House, to his Grace, for his Speech to them from the Throne. The Duke of Ormonde did immediately transmit the first into

Eng-

England, and the same was presented to the Queen, by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, the 23d of *February*. The Address of the Lords was as follows:

‘ We your Majesty’s most loyal and dutiful  
 ‘ Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal  
 ‘ in Parliament assembled, do humbly congratulate the glorious Victory obtained by your  
 ‘ Majesty’s Forces, in Conjunction with those  
 ‘ of your Allies, under the Command of the  
 ‘ Duke of *Marlborough*; and we adore the  
 ‘ Goodness of God, for the many great Successes, with which he has blessed your Majesty’s Arms, since your happy Accession  
 ‘ to the Throne.

‘ We are highly sensible how much we  
 ‘ owe to your Majesty, for those many good  
 ‘ Laws, you were graciously pleased to give  
 ‘ the Royal Assent to, the last Session; and we  
 ‘ esteem it our greatest Happiness, that we  
 ‘ have a Queen, whose Delight is in the Safety and Prosperity of her People, and who  
 ‘ daily shews such tender Care of them.

‘ We assure your Majesty of our unshaken  
 ‘ Fidelity to your Person, Crown, and Government; and as we are inseparably annexed to the Imperial Crown of *England*,  
 ‘ so we are resolved to oppose all Attempts,  
 ‘ that may be made by *Scotland*, or any other  
 ‘ Nation whatsoever, to divide us from it,  
 ‘ or defeat the Succession of the *Protestant*  
 ‘ Line, as limited by several Acts of Parliament.

‘ We

‘ We beseech Almighty God, that your  
 ‘ Majesty may live many Years, and always  
 ‘ enjoy the Pleasure of ruling in the Hearts  
 ‘ of your Subjects ; and that you may be the  
 ‘ glorious Instrument of relieving our *Pro-*  
 ‘ *testant* Brethren Abroad, of procuring the  
 ‘ Peace, and asserting the Liberty of *Europe* ;  
 ‘ and that you may long continue the Sup-  
 ‘ port and Ornament of our Established Church,  
 ‘ for all which you have shewn such a Princely  
 ‘ Concern.

To which Address her Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following Answer:

### ANNA.

*Her Majesty receives, with great Satisfaction, the affectionate Expressions of Loyalty and Duty in the Address of the House of Lords ; and they may be assured of her constant Care and Concern for the Happiness and Prosperity of the Kingdom.*

The Address of the Commons runs thus :

### *Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and  
 ‘ loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Ireland* in  
 ‘ Parliament assembled, do most humbly lay  
 ‘ hold of this Opportunity, given us by your  
 ‘ Majesty’s Grace and Favour, to congratulate  
 ‘ the glorious Successes obtained by the Arms  
 ‘ of your Majesty and your Allies by Sea  
 ‘ and Land ; more particularly those under  
 ‘ the



‘ the Conduct and Bravery of his Grace the  
 ‘ Duke of *Marlborough*, by which your Ma-  
 ‘ jesty has in a great Measure secured not  
 ‘ only the Peace and Happiness of your own  
 ‘ Subjects, but the Liberties of *Europe* against  
 ‘ the restless Attempts and Invasions of the  
 ‘ *French King*.

‘ And we humbly beseech your most Sacred  
 ‘ Majesty, to accept our sincere and hearty  
 ‘ Thanks and Acknowledgments for your  
 ‘ Majesty’s gracious Interposition with your  
 ‘ Parliament of *England*, in Favour of this  
 ‘ Kingdom, towards our Relief, in the pre-  
 ‘ sent Difficulties we labour under, humbly  
 ‘ imploring the Continuance of your Majesty’s  
 ‘ Grace and Goodness to us.

‘ And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty,  
 ‘ that your faithful Commons will support  
 ‘ your Majesty’s Government, and the Church  
 ‘ of *Ireland*, as by Law established, to the ut-  
 ‘ most of their Power.

‘ And in Case any Difference shall rise,  
 ‘ between *England* and *Scotland*, will most  
 ‘ firmly adhere to the Imperial Crown of  
 ‘ *England*, in maintaining the Succession in  
 ‘ the *Protestant* Line, as the same is settled  
 ‘ by the Acts of Parliament made in *England*,  
 ‘ against all Persons who shall attempt to dis-  
 ‘ unite your Majesty’s Kingdoms, or to own  
 ‘ or receive any other Successors in any of  
 ‘ them, than such Persons to whom the Suc-  
 ‘ cession

‘cession of the Crown, is by the said Acts  
‘limited and appointed.’

To which Address her Majesty was also  
pleased to answer as follows :

#### ANNE R.

*Her Majesty is very well pleased with the  
Address of the House of Commons, and as she is  
fully satisfied with their Assurances of supporting  
her Majesty, and of firmly adhering to the Im-  
perial Crown of England, and the Protestant  
Succession ; so they may depend on her Majesty's  
Protection of that Church and State, and on  
her Care for easing them in any Difficulties they  
may lie under.*

On the 5th of March the House of Com-  
mons of Ireland resolved themselves into a  
Committee of the whole House, to take into  
farther Consideration the Supply to be grant-  
ed to her Majesty ; and also his Grace the  
Lord Lieutenant's Speech ; and came to a Re-  
solution, that a Sum, not exceeding one Hun-  
dred and fifty Thousand Pounds, be granted  
to her Majesty, for the Support of the necessa-  
ry Branches of the Establishment for two  
Years, commencing the 29th of September,  
1705, and ending the 29th of September 1707.  
Which Resolution, being reported the Day  
following, was unanimously agreed unto by  
the

the House ; and it was resolved, that the House should on *Friday* next resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to her Majesty. That Day the House attended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with the following Address of Thanks to her Majesty, for her Majesty's most gracious Answer to their congratulatory Addresses :

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

' We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal  
' Subjects, the Commons of *Ireland* in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our  
' humble Thanks, for your Majesty's most  
' gracious Answer to our Addresses.

' Your Majesty's truly royal Disposition,  
' and transcendent Goodness expressed therein,  
' have exalted our Hopes, and enabled us  
' cheerfully to support the Difficulties we lie  
' under till, by your Majesty's Care and Prudence, we shall obtain such Ease and Relief, as thankful Subjects may hope from the  
' best of Queens.

' As the Glory of your Majesty's Victories  
' over your Enemies affects us with the highest  
' Admiration, so your Majesty's Clemency  
' and Indulgence to your People create in us  
' the greatest Zeal and Devotion, and inspire  
' us with most ardent Desires to express our  
' Gratitude to your Majesty, and our constant  
' Resolution, not only to support your Majesty and your Government, but, by repeated

‘ Instances of Duty and Loyalty, to preserve  
 ‘ ourselves for ever in your Majesty’s Favour.’

*To which his Grace was pleased to answer,  
 that he would take Care to transmit this Address  
 to her Majesty with great Pleasure.*

Not many Days after, the Lower House of  
 Convocation, of the Clergy of the Church of  
*Ireland*, understanding, ‘ That Heads of a  
 ‘ Bill for the Improvement of the Hempen  
 ‘ and Flaxen Manufactories, of that Kingdom,  
 ‘ were brought into the House of Commons,  
 ‘ wherein there was a Clause, to ascertain the  
 ‘ Tithes of Hemp and Flax, which were ap-  
 ‘ prehended might prove very prejudicial to  
 ‘ the Rights and Properties of the Clergy of  
 ‘ *Ireland*, with the Care of which they were  
 ‘ entrusted:’ They therefore presented a Me-  
 morial to the House of Commons, ‘ desiring  
 ‘ that the said Clause might not pass in the  
 ‘ said Bill, until their Reasons, which they  
 ‘ were ready to offer against it were first heard;’  
 which Message was signed by the Prolocutor,  
 and by their Actuary\*, who was a Servant  
 to the Upper House of Convocation. Upon  
 the Receipt of this Memorial the Commons  
 ‘ voted, ‘ That the Person that brought it  
 ‘ was guilty of a Breach of the Privilege of  
 ‘ that House, ordered him to be taken into  
 ‘ the Custody of their Serjeant at Arms, and  
 ‘ further resolved, that it appeared to them  
 ‘ that the Convocation, in pretending to have

\* *Actuary* is a Clerk who registers the Acts and Constitutions  
 of a Convocation.



‘ the Care of the Civil Rights of the Clergy  
 ‘ were guilty of a Contempt and Breach of the  
 ‘ Privilege of that House.’ The Commons  
 expected that the Convocation should make  
 a Submission and acknowledge, ‘ That they  
 ‘ had nothing to do with the Civil Rights, and  
 ‘ that their meddl’ing with those Rights, was a  
 ‘ Contempt and Breach of the Privilege :’ But,  
 instead of that, the Convocation sent them a  
 Letter, wherein they endeavoured to justify  
 their Memorial, ‘ as no Ways encroaching  
 ‘ upon the Privileges of the House of Com-  
 ‘ mons, and consequently no Breach of Privi-  
 ‘ lege.’ Hereupon the Commons voted, ‘ That  
 ‘ all Matters, relating to this Memorial, should  
 ‘ be ’razed out of the Journals and Books of  
 ‘ the Convocation :’ Which being like to raise  
 greater Heats, his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*  
 thought fit to send a Message to both Houses,  
 that they should adjourn to the First of *May*  
 next, which was done accordingly.

The Duke of *Ormonde*, during the Adjourn-  
 ment of Parliament, ever intent upon pro-  
 viding for the Security, as well as Prosperity  
 of his Government, made a Progress into  
 the *North*, and, having taken several Engi-  
 neers along with him, caused the Plans of  
 many fortified Places to be taken, and Schemes  
 made for encreasing their Strength. The Peo-  
 ple, in all the Places which his Grace ho-  
 noured with his Presence, gave authentic  
 Marks of their Affection and Loyalty to her

Majesty, and of their Respect and Esteem for his Grace's Person. Among the rest, the *Presbyterians*, who had been misrepresented upon Account of some Transaction in *Scotland*, thought that a proper Opportunity to wipe off the Aspersions cast upon them; wherefore when his Grace was at *Antrim*, which was the 18th of *April*, he was waited upon by divers of the *Presbyterian* Ministers, who, in the Name of themselves and the rest of their Brethren, in that Part of that Country, delivered the following Address:

*May it please your Grace,*

' We in our own Name, and in the Name  
' of our Brethren the *Presbyterian* Mini-  
' sters in this Part of the Country, beg Leave  
' to acquaint your Grace, that we look upon  
' your Grace's Presence and Progress in the  
' North of *Ireland*, as an Evidence of your  
' great Diligence and Zeal for her Majesty's  
' Service, and prudent Care and Concern for  
' this as well as other Parts of the Kingdom;  
' and we chearfully embrace this Occasion of  
' expressing our most humble and submissive  
' Respect to your Grace's high Character, to-  
' gether with our dutiful and grateful Sense  
' of the Favours we have received under your  
' Government.'

' We have given such repeated and solemn  
' Assurances of our unshaken Loyalty to her  
' sacred Majesty's Person and Government,  
' and of our being entirely in the Interest of  
' the

“ the *Protestant* Succession by Law established,  
 “ as leave not the least just Ground for sus-  
 “ pecting our Sincerity. And therefore we  
 “ beg Leave to depend (under God) upon her  
 “ Majesty’s experienced Clemency and Bounty,  
 “ and your Grace’s Favour. This, in the Name  
 “ of those we represent, is subscribed by,  
 “ May it please your Grace,

“ *Your Grace’s most humble, most*  
 “ *obedient, and most obliged Servants,*

*Ja. Kirkpatrick And. Crawford Tho. Futt,*  
*J. Abernethy W. Tayler Jo. Malc,*

The following Paper was also delivered to  
 his Grace,

*The humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers*  
*in and about Monaghan, for ourselves and*  
*in the Name of our Brethren in this upper*  
*Country.*

*May it please your Grace,*

“ **T**HE great and good Things that  
 “ your true and noble Ancestors have  
 “ done in, and for this Nation, make us great-  
 “ ly rejoice at her Majesty’s continuing you,  
 “ next to herself, Governor in chief in this  
 “ Kingdom; your Grace’s heroic and mag-  
 “ nanimous Exploits in the War, especially at  
 “ *Vigo*; your just, prudent, and gracious Ma-  
 “ nagement of the Government of this Realm,

' are (beyond all Exception) Demonstrations  
 ' of your being a genuine Branch of that no-  
 ' ble, illustrious, and ancient Family of *Or-*  
 ' *monde*.

' We most heartily congratulate your Grace's  
 ' safe Progress in these Northern Parts, where-  
 ' by you have not only honoured this Coun-  
 ' try, but also evidenced your great Zeal for  
 ' her Majesty's Interest; and we do most  
 ' gratefully acknowledge, that, as it is of di-  
 ' vine Grace the Fountain of all Good, so it is  
 ' of her sacred Majesty, and next of your  
 ' Grace, that we may enjoy the free and un-  
 ' disturbed Exercise of our Religion, with o-  
 ' ther special Favours; firmly resolving, ac-  
 ' cording to our known Principles, to adhere  
 ' to our Sovereign Lady Queen ANNE, and  
 ' the Protestant Succession as by Law esta-  
 ' blished.

' That Almighty God may long continue  
 ' her Majesty's Life and glorious Reign, and  
 ' you, our gracious Governor, on whose Cle-  
 ' mency, and Favour, we humbly beg  
 ' Leave to depend (may it please your Grace)  
 ' is the hearty Prayer of your Grace's most  
 ' faithful, thankful, humble, and obedient Ser-  
 ' vants,

*Josiah Cornwall, James Jonsson, Baptist Boyd,*  
*Alex. Fleming, Will. Ambrose, W. Thompson,*  
*Ja. Teats, Will. Cornwall, Hugh Kelsey,*  
*Ja. Fleming, R. Daroch.*

At Londonderry his Grace was waited upon  
 with the following Address:

*The*



*The humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers in the City, County, and Neighbourhood of Londonderry.*

*May it please your Grace,*

WE humbly beg Leave to represent our just and grateful Sense of the signal and seasonable Favours your Grace has pleased to confer upon us, Gratitude being at least our Duty, and yet is almost all we are able to pay for so great a Debt, wishing a better and greater Reward to your Grace.

And we, in most humble Manner, implore the Continuance of your Grace's Clemency, Favour, and Protection, we being by Principle determined, as hitherto, so to continue demeaning ourselves always as becometh faithful, loyal, and dutiful Subjects to her sacred Majesty and Government.

And that your Grace's Person and illustrious Family may be attended with Affluence of all Blessings, shall be the Prayer of Your Grace's most humble, obedient, and faithful Servants,

*Rob. Craghead, And. Ferguson,  
P. Campbell, Will. Gray.*

Upon his Grace's Return to *Dublin*, the Parliament sat again, and the House of Commons taking Notice of the restless Endeavours of the Enemies of the Public Peace, to create Divisions among the Protestants of that Kingdom, to strengthen the Interest of the pretended

pretended Prince of *Wales*, and obstruct the Succession in the Protestant Line, made on the 25th of *May* the following unanimous Resolutions:

‘ *Resolved*, That endeavouring to create or promote Misunderstandings between the Protestants of this Kingdom, tends to the Advantage of the Papists, and Weakening the Protestant Interest; is seditious and of dangerous Consequence to her Majesty’s Government, and the Succession in the Protestant Line, as by Law established.

‘ That by writing or dispersing Pamphlets, or otherwise, to insinuate Danger to the established Church, from the Succession as by Law established, tends to promote Popery, and the Interest of the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

‘ That it is the indispensable Duty of all Magistrates in this Kingdom to put the Laws strictly in Execution, against all Persons who shall be guilty of such pernicious Practices.’

On the 1st of *June* Mr. Attorney-General reported, from the Committee appointed to consider the State of the Nation, the following Resolutions which were unanimously agreed to by the House:

‘ *Resolved*, That to suggest by Words or Writing, that the established Church is not well affected to the Succession of the Crown, in the Protestant Line, as settled by Acts of Parliament, or any Way inclined to countenance  
 ‘ Popery,

‘ Popery, is a false and malicious Asperſion,  
‘ and tends to create a dangerous Diviſion a-  
‘ mong Proteſtants, and to promote the De-  
‘ ſigns of Papiſts and Traitors in favour of the  
‘ pretended Prince of *Wales*.

‘ *Resolved*, That the erecting and continu-  
‘ ing any Seminary for the Inſtruction and E-  
‘ ducation of Youth, in Principles contrary to  
‘ the eſtabliſhed Church and Government,  
‘ tends to create and perpetuate Miſunder-  
‘ ſtandings among Proteſtants.

‘ *Resolved*, that ſaying *Maſs*, preaching or  
‘ teaching in ſeparate Congregations, by Per-  
‘ ſons who have not taken the Oath of Ab-  
‘ juration, and hearing, maintaining, and coun-  
‘ tenancing ſuch Perſons, tends to defeat the  
‘ Succeſſion of the Crown in the *Proteſtant*  
‘ Line, and to encourage and advance the  
‘ Intereſt of the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

‘ *Resolved*, that all Judges and Magiſtrates,  
‘ are under the higheſt Obligations to make  
‘ moſt diligent Enquiry, into all ſuch wicked  
‘ Practices, and to their utmoſt endeavour to  
‘ diſcover and puniſh the Authors of them;  
‘ and ſuch, as wilfully neglect the ſame, ought  
‘ to be looked upon as Enemies to her  
‘ Maſteſty's Government, and the Proſperity  
‘ of this Kingdom.’

The Convocation of the Clergy, to clear them-  
ſelves of the falſe Inſinuations of thoſe who  
‘ had repreſented them as Enemies to the Pro-  
teſtant

testant Succession, passed the following Resolutions :

‘ *Resolved*, That this Church and Nation,  
 ‘ having lately been in the utmost Danger of  
 ‘ being overrun by Popery and Tyranny, were  
 ‘ happily delivered from both, by means of  
 ‘ the late Revolution brought about (under  
 ‘ God’s Providence) by his late Majesty King  
 ‘ *William III*ld. of glorious Memory.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Continuance and Im-  
 ‘ provement of these Blessings are due (next  
 ‘ under God) to the auspicious Reign and  
 ‘ happy Government of her Majesty Queen  
 ‘ *Anne*, whom Almighty God long preserve.

‘ *Resolved*, That the future Security and  
 ‘ Preservation of this Church and Nation de-  
 ‘ pends wholly (under God) on the Succession  
 ‘ of the Crown, as it is now settled by Law in  
 ‘ the Protestant Line.

‘ *Resolved*, That if any Clergyman of this  
 ‘ Church shall, either by Word or Writing,  
 ‘ declare any Thing in Opposition to the fore-  
 ‘ going Resolutions (which we hope will ne-  
 ‘ ver happen) we shall look upon him as a  
 ‘ Sower of Divisions among the Protestants  
 ‘ of the established Church, and as an Enemy  
 ‘ to our Constitution. And, after this public  
 ‘ and solemn Declaration, we hope no  
 ‘ Person whoever will be so unjust and un-  
 ‘ charitable, as to declare and insinuate, that  
 ‘ the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, as by  
 ‘ Law established, were not entire in their  
 ‘ Affections for the late King *William* of glo-  
 ‘ rious



‘ rious Memory, or are not in the true Interest  
‘ of the present Government, or that they are  
‘ any Way disaffected to the Succession in the  
‘ Protestant Line as by Law established.

‘ *Resolved*, That for any Person to teach or  
‘ preach against the Doctrine, Government,  
‘ Rites, or Ceremonies of this Church, or to  
‘ keep up and maintain Schools and Semina-  
‘ ries for the Education of Youth in Princi-  
‘ ples contrary to those of the established  
‘ Church, is a Contempt of the ecclesiastical  
‘ Laws of this Kingdom, is of pernicious  
‘ Consequence, and serves only to continue  
‘ and widen the unhappy Schisms and Divi-  
‘ sions in the Nation.’

On the 14th of *June*, the House of Commons passed the Bill for the Improvement of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of that Kingdom, and sent it up to the Lords; after which they resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that an humble Address of their House to her Majesty should be prepared, to give her Majesty the humble Thanks of the House, for the many good Bills transmitted this Session. They also resolved, that the Thanks of the House should be given to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, for his good Administration; and particularly for his being instrumental in obtaining so many good Bills for that Kingdom, and it was referred to the Committee to prepare an Address for that Purpose; both which Addresses were presented to his Grace the next Day.

The

The same Day the 15th, the Commons ordered the following Resolutions taken by the House the last Session of Parliament to be renewed, as being conducive to the Encouragement of the Trade of *Ireland*.

‘ 1st, That by Reason of the great Decay  
‘ of Trade, and Discouragement of the  
‘ Exportation of the Manufactures of this  
‘ Kingdom, many poor Tradesmen are reduced to extreme Want and Beggary.

‘ 2d, That it will greatly conduce to the  
‘ Relief of the said Poor, and to the Good  
‘ of this Kingdom, that the Inhabitants thereof  
‘ should use none other than the Manufactures  
‘ of this Kingdom in their Apparel and the  
‘ Furniture of their Houses.

‘ 3d, That the deceitful Making, Dressing,  
‘ and Dying Cloths, and Stuffs of the old and  
‘ new Drapery, within this Kingdom, has  
‘ chiefly occasioned the Inhabitants thereof,  
‘ to wear and consume Manufactures wrought  
‘ in other Places.

‘ 4th, That the Lengths and Breadths of  
‘ the old and new Draperies, prescribed by the  
‘ Laws and Statutes of Force in this Kingdom,  
‘ for regulating the said Trade, have not been  
‘ observed by the Makers of the Drapery in  
‘ this Kingdom,

‘ 5th, That all Broad Cloths of, or under  
‘ the Price of ten Shillings *per Yard*, to be  
‘ made within this Kingdom, ought to be a  
‘ Yard and a half in Breadth at least, within  
‘ the List, after the same are fully milled and  
‘ finished,

‘ finished, and not to exceed 25 Yards in  
‘ Length in every Piece.

‘ 6th, That all the Broad Cloths, above ten  
‘ Shillings *per Yard*, ought to contain a Yard  
‘ and a half, and half a Quarter, in Breadth,  
‘ within the List after the same is fully milled  
‘ and finished, and to be of the Length afore-  
‘ said.

‘ 7th, That all half Cloths, Druggets, single  
‘ Sarges, Cloth Sarges, Flannels, Cloths and  
‘ Worsted Druggets, Ratteens, Kerries, and  
‘ Frizes, ought to contain three Quarters of a  
‘ Yard in Breadth, at least, within the List, af-  
‘ ter they are fully milled and finished; and  
‘ that no Piece of Sarge do contain in Length  
‘ more than forty Yards, and that they be  
‘ made up flat and not rolled.

‘ 8th, That all narrow Baiz, when finished,  
‘ ought to contain a Yard in Breadth at least,  
‘ whole Baiz two Yards in Breadth, and eve-  
‘ ry Piece of the said broad and narrow Baiz,  
‘ ought to contain forty Yards in Length at  
‘ least.

‘ 9th, That all Druggets mixed with Silk,  
‘ Cotton, or Linnen, Yarn, Paragons, Faran-  
‘ dines, Coffoys, and Camlets, ought to con-  
‘ tain in Breadth, within the List, half a Yard  
‘ and half a Quarter at least.

‘ 10th, That all Sarges, worsted Stuffs, and  
‘ Stuffs mixed with Silk, Hair, Cotton, Moss,  
‘ or Linnen Yarn, ought to contain half a  
‘ Yard in Breadth, at least, when finished.

‘ 11<sup>th</sup>, That the Warp of all Worsted  
 ‘ Stuffs of the Breadth aforesaid, made of  
 ‘ Worsted only, ought to consist of sixteen  
 ‘ Beers at least, forty Threads in each Beer,  
 ‘ and that all the worsted Camlets be no less  
 ‘ that 28 Beers, and forty Threads in each  
 ‘ Beer when finished; Worsted Damasks at  
 ‘ nineteen Beers, forty Threads in each Beer;  
 ‘ Worsted Crapes mixed with Silk seventeen  
 ‘ Beers, and forty Threads in each Beer at least.

‘ 12<sup>th</sup>, That the tentering or stretching of any  
 ‘ the aforesaid Draperies in Breath or Length,  
 ‘ further than to lay the same strait and even,  
 ‘ is a great Fraud, for which the Offenders  
 ‘ ought to be prosecuted and punished as com-  
 ‘ mon Cheats.

‘ 13<sup>th</sup>, That, for the Prevention of such  
 ‘ Frauds, the Dressers of such Goods ought to  
 ‘ affix, with a hot Brand, the Length and  
 ‘ Breadth of such Goods when wet.

The same Day the Lords Spiritual and  
 Temporal, in Parliament assembled, presented  
 the following Address to the Duke of Or-  
 monde :

*May it please your Grace,*

‘ **W**E the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-  
 ‘ ral, in Parliament assembled, do with  
 ‘ all Gratitude acknowledge the Goodness of  
 ‘ our most gracious Sovereign, in granting us  
 ‘ so many excellent Bills this Session, for the  
 ‘ farther Security of our Religion, as by Law  
 ‘ established, the Advancement of our Trade,  
 ‘ the



and the Increase of the Happiness and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

And as we are highly sensible of your Grace's generous Disposition and Readiness, at all Times, to promote the public Good; so we humbly beg Leave to congratulate the Success of your Grace's Mediation with her Majesty in our Favour.

We also desire to return our hearty Thanks to your Grace, for your great Care and Vigilance, in providing for our Safety, by visiting the remote and most expos'd Parts of this Kingdom; by furnishing the Army with so good a Train of Artillery; and by taking such effectual Measures for the Defence of her Majesty's Garrisons in this Kingdom.

To which his Grace returned this Answer,

*I thank your Lordships for your Address; and am glad my Endeavours for the Good of this Kingdom are to your Lordships Satisfaction.*

The next Day his Grace came with the usual Formalities to the House of Peers; and the Commons, being sent for up, gave the Royal Assent to such Bills as were ready. Upon presenting the Money-Bill, the Speaker of the House of Commons made the following Speech to his Grace :

*May it please your Grace,*

The Commons having gone through those Bills, which, according to the Constitution

‘ of this Kingdom, have a Prospect of seeing  
‘ passed into Laws this Session, present them-  
‘ selves (in Obedience to your Grace’s Plea-  
‘ sure) as Witnesses to their receiving Life by  
‘ the Royal Assent.

‘ They most gratefully own, that those  
‘ Bills which have been transmitted this Ses-  
‘ sion, to be passed into Laws, are Instances  
‘ of her Majesty’s Goodness to them, and  
‘ of your Grace’s Care; and by taking No-  
‘ tice in their Addresses, that they are many,  
‘ they express their great Inclinations to publish  
‘ to the World the just Sense they have of the  
‘ Favours of a Prince, from whom they, all  
‘ her Subjects, and *Europe* in general, promise  
‘ to themselves the greatest Blessings.

‘ And, to shew themselves not wholly un-  
‘ deserving her Majesty’s Royal Care and Pro-  
‘ tection, they have declared their firm Loyal-  
‘ ty to the Crown, and Adherence to the Suc-  
‘ cession and Religion by Law established; in  
‘ the most public Manner; and have endea-  
‘ voured to prevent all malicious Aspersions  
‘ on the established Church, and whatever else  
‘ may create or promote Divisions and Mis-  
‘ understandings among Protestants.

‘ These Resolves (if not necessary to re-  
‘ move some Enemies of our Peace, already  
‘ among us) will however convince those A-  
‘ broad, that the same Unanimity against the  
‘ Enemies of our Religion, Laws, and Liber-  
‘ ties, still continue in the Breasts of Prote-  
‘ stants (though of different Persuasions in o-  
‘ ther

ther Matters) that eminently shewed itself in their joint and brave Defence of *Londonderry* and *Iniskilling*.

Nor doth the Expression of the Duty and Affection of her Majesty's loyal Subjects end in Words only : The extream Poverty of the Kingdom hinders not the granting sufficient Funds, for the honourable Support and just Payment of the Establishment ; in-  
somuch that our more happy Neighbours, (taking that to be a Measure of our Wealth and Prosperity ; which is in Truth only the Result of a fixed Principle in us, never to refuse Supplies while the Crown wants, and the Country can give) persuade themselves the Kingdom is in a flourishing Condition, since its Aids are so great, and its Complaints either none, or very few.

But this, and whatever is in the Power of her Majesty's most faithful Subjects the Commons, is justly due to *the best of Queen's*, whose victorious Arms have shaken the united Powers of two Kingdoms, each of which, within the space of one Age, aspired at universal Monarchy.

The Progress of her Majesty's Troops promise to open a more beneficial Trade with *Spain*, than any this Nation is yet possessed of, and there appears fair Hopes, that another Campaign, like the last in *Germany*, will oblige that Prince to sue for Peace, who hath hitherto refused to allow a safe and honourable one to Christendom.

*May it please your Grace,*

‘ Railed by the Hopes, and out of the profoundest Duty to her Majesty, and highest Zeal for the Honour and Support of her Majesty’s Government, the Commons have granted an Aid to her Majesty, by passing a Bill entitled, *An Act for for granting to her Majesty an additional Duty on Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, Callicoes, Linnen, Muslins, and other Goods and Merchandizes.*’

His Grace having given the Royal Assent to *An Act for granting to her Majesty an additional Duty on Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, Callicoes, Linnen, Muslins, and other Goods and Merchandizes. An Act to explain and amend an Act. for registering the Popish Clergy. An Act to repeal an Act, entitled, An Act for the Advancement of the Trade of Linnen Manufacture. An Act for the Improvement of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of this Kingdom. An Act for Relief of Creditors against Fraudulent Devices. An Act to prevent illegal Raising Money by Grand Juries, and the Misapplying Money legally raised, and for the better Execution of an Act for the Mending of the Highways by six Days Labour, and for the appointing Overseers of the Highways by the Justices at their Sessions in Default of naming them by their respective Parishes. An Act for lessening the Duty of Rape-Seed to be exported. An Act to regulate the taking and exacting Tolls throughout this Kingdom,*



Kingdom, and to prevent ingrossing Coals in the City of Dublin. *An Act for explaining and putting in Execution an Act for planting and preserving Timber Trees and Woods; and for explaining and putting in Execution an Act to avoid and prevent divers Misdemeanours in idle and lewd Persons in Barking of Trees. An Act to prevent Fees being taken in certain Cases. An Act against Horse-stealing, and to prevent the Buying and Selling of Stolen Horses, and for punishing all Accessories to Felons. An Act to repeal the Statute made in the 5th of Henry the IVth against multiplying Gold and Silver, and to prevent Disputes and Controversies concerning Royal Mines. An Act for Relief of poor Prisoners for Debts. An Act for regulating the Weights used in this Kingdom, and that Salt and Meal shall be sold by Weight, and to eight private Bills.* Made the following Speech to both Houses :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

June 16, ' **W** E are now come to that End  
1705. ' we all desired, a happy Conclusion of this Session, in which all Things  
' have concurred to the mutual Satisfaction of  
' the Queen and her People.

' You have just Reason to be thankful to  
' her Majesty for the remarkable Instances of  
' her Majesty's Goodness, and the great Concern which she hath expressed for the Prosperity of this Kingdom, and the many good  
' Laws which have been enacted for the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, and the  
' Ease and Advantage of her Subjects.

‘ I doubt not but her Majesty will be well  
 ‘ pleased, with your hearty Expressions of  
 ‘ Duty and Affection in this Session, and with  
 ‘ the Supply you, *Gentlemen of the House of*  
 ‘ *Commons*, have so chearfully given in this  
 ‘ Time of War and Difficulty; and with the  
 ‘ Assurance, that you will, in due Time, pro-  
 ‘ vide for what shall be expended for the  
 ‘ Public Security; in the Management where-  
 ‘ of, you may be certain of a Care and Fru-  
 ‘ gality suitable to the Trust you have reposed  
 ‘ in the Government,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ **I**T is a great Pleasure to me to find, by  
 ‘ your Addresses, that the Administration  
 ‘ of the Government has been to your Satis-  
 ‘ faction; and as I earnestly recommend to  
 ‘ you, in your several Stations and Countries,  
 ‘ to preserve the Peace and promote the Pub-  
 ‘ lic Good, by a due Execution of the Laws  
 ‘ already made; so you may be sure, that I  
 ‘ will by just Representations to her Majesty,  
 ‘ and by all the good Offices in my Power,  
 ‘ give my utmost Assistance to advance the  
 ‘ Trade, and secure the Welfare and Prospe-  
 ‘ rity of the Kingdom.’

And then the Parliament was prorogued to  
*Thursday the 13th of June next.*

Three Days before, the Lord *Cuts* landed at  
*Dublin*, about 6 in the Evening, near *Rings-*  
*End*; where his Lordship was met by one of  
 the Lord Lieutenant’s Coaches, and went im-  
 mediately to wait upon his Grace, by whom  
 was very kindly received. The

The Duke of *Ormonde* having, notwithstanding the Opposition of some uneasy envious Men, brought this Session of the Parliament of *Ireland* to a happy Conclusion, and regulated the other public Affairs of that Kingdom, his Grace resolved to come over into *England*, to give her Majesty an Account of his Proceedings; and having left the Administration of that Government to the Right Hon. Sir *Richard Cox*, Lord Chancellor there, and the Right Hon. the Lord *Cuts*, Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's Forces, who were constituted Lords Justices of the Kingdom, during his Grace's Absence, he came away from *Dublin*, on board one of her Majesty's Yatches; safely landed at *Chester*, the 26th of *June*, and three Days after arrived at *St. James's*.

I must here observe, that his Grace before he left *Dublin*, having been informed of a gross Absurdity committed, by inserting in the Address of the House of Commons to his Grace, in the printed Votes of *Saturday* the 16th Instant, these Words, [*We your Grace's most dutiful and loyal Subjects*] immediately gave order to the Lord Chief Justice of the *Queen's-Bench*, to examine by what Means the same happened; whereupon it plainly appeared, that the Journal of the House of Commons, and the Address presented to his Grace, both agree in this Expression, [*We her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects*] and the Speaker of the House of Commons (who according to Custom perused the Proof, and gave Directions for the printing thereof) and the Per-

sons who printed the same, being examined by the said Chief Justice, do both allege, that the absurd Expression in the said Print, contrary to the true Address of the Commons, proceeded from Mistake and Oversight.

On the 15th of *November*, 1705. This Year his Grace, the newly created Duke of *Montague*, was introduced into the House of Peers between the Lord Duke of *Ormonde*, and the Duke of *Bolton*, and seated in the usual Manner.

1706. The City of *London* having addressed her Majesty, that the Colours and Standards, taken at *Ramillies*, might be hung up in *Guildhall*, they were carried thither with great Ceremony from *Whitehall*, by a Detachment of the Horse and Foot-Guards on the 19th of *December*, amounting to sixty-three Colours, and twenty-four Standards; and the same Day his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Dukes of *Ormonde* and *Somerset*, and other great Officers and Ministers of State, went to an Entertainment at *Vintners-hall* in the City, having been invited thither by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

1707. His Grace on the 16th of *March* introduced the Vice-Chancellor attended by a numerous Train of the most eminent Members of the said University, conducted by the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, with the Address of the University of *Oxford*, which her Majesty received very graciously.



1708. About the Beginning of *April*, his Grace the Duke was constituted one of the Privy-Council for the two united Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and, on the 7th, his Grace introduced *Thomas Medlicot*, Esq; with an Address to her Majesty from the Justices of the Peace, and High Bailiff of the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, and of the Grand Jury for the same; which her Majesty very graciously received.

On the 20th, his Grace introduced Sir *Edward Irby*, and *Richard Wynne*, Esq; with an Address to her Majesty from the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, Town-Clerk, Common-Council, Burgeſſes, Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of her Majesty's ancient Burrough of *Boston*, in the County of *Lincoln*; which her Majesty very graciously received.

Dec. 19. His Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, presented to her Majesty a Book of Poems, entitled, *Exequiæ Celsissimo Principi Georgio, Principi Daniæ, ab Oxoniensi Academia solutæ*. Written by the most eminent Writers of that University.

1709. On the 25th of *Sept.* the following Address from the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, was presented to her Majesty by *Thomas Medlicot*, Esq; Deputy Steward, being introduced by his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, High Steward of the City.

*To the QUEEN's most Excellent Majesty.*

*The Humble Address of the Duke of Ormonde, High Steward of Westminster, the Deputy Steward, Justices of Peace, High-Bailiff, Burgesses, and Burgesses Assistants, and others, the Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of Westminster.*

*Madam,*

WE beg your Majesty to accept the joyful Congratulations of your People, upon the compleat and glorious Victory obtained by your Majesty's Troops, and those of your Allies, at the late Battle near Mons, under the Conduct of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene of Savoy.

Every Year of your Majesty's Reign has been distinguished by fresh Blessings to your People, and new Glories to the *British* Name; but none greater than this, when (after taking so important a Fortrefs as that of *Tournay*) the same Army (ambitious of fresh Glory) attacked the whole Forces of the Enemy in the strongest Intrenchments, and under the most advantageous Situation that Art or Nature could contrive. But nothing is too difficult for your experienced General, in so good a Cause, and for such a Queen, whose constant Piety and Goodness has bespoke her the Favour of Heaven, as well as made her the Darling and the Admiration

‘ miration of Mankind ; for the Strength of  
 ‘ their Lines served only to give them Cou-  
 ‘ rage enough to stand, to encrease the Ho-  
 ‘ nour of the Action, and your Majesty’s  
 ‘ Glory in their Defeat.’

May your Majesty ever succeed in the great Cause you have undertaken, till you have finished all in a lasting and honourable Peace, to the immortal Glory of your Name, and the Prosperity of your People, the Security of the Church of *England*, and *Protestant* Succession as established by Law ; and we your  
 ‘ loyal Subjects presume to assure your Ma-  
 ‘ jesty, that we shall be ready to hazard our  
 ‘ Lives as well as Estates, to enable you to  
 ‘ improve these Advantages to those great and  
 ‘ pious Ends.’

Which Address her Majesty received very graciously.

1711. Oct. 1st. His Grace the Duke of Ormonde, High Steward of the City of *Exeter*, presented to her Majesty an Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of that City, which her Majesty received very graciously ; and, on the 19th, her Majesty in Council was pleased to declare his Grace *James, Duke of Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

June the 14th, His Grace set out for that Kingdom, and arrived the 18th at *Chester* about one o’Clock ; he was met near the City by the Deputy Governor of the Castle, and a great Number of the principal Gentlemen of that City

City and Country; at his Enterance into the City, the Guns from the Castle fired; the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, attending his Grace's Coming upon a Scaffold erected for that Purpose, where he was complimented by the Recorder, in the Name of the Corporation, in a very eloquent Speech. The several Companies of the Citizens at the same Time, with their Banners, attending in the Street with all imaginable Demonstrations of Respect. He alighted at Sir *Henry Banbury's*, where, the Dean attended by all the Body of the Clergy, came to welcome his Grace. Soon after he was invited by the Mayor and Corporation to the *Pint House*, where a noble Collation was prepared, and to which Place his Grace was accompanied by the Bishop of *Chester*, and several other Persons of Distinction; his Grace proceeded the Day following to *Park-gate* to attend the first Opportunity of a fair Wind, but was there detained eleven Days, by there being so long contrary Winds; he embarked the 30th in the Morning, on board her Majesty's Ship the *Dublin Yatch* attended by some of the Men of War, but was obliged the next Day to put into *Holy-head-bay*, where he lay a whole Tide, and then put to Sea again. However, the Wind not being favourable, his Grace did not reach the *Irish Coast*, till 10 in the Morning on the 2d of *July*; he could not land at *Dunlary*, about four Miles from *Dublin*, till near Seven the next Morning; upon Notice of which, the Lords  
of



of the Privy-Council were, by Appointment of the Lords Justices and Council, sent to congratulate his Grace on his safe Arrival. He was attended from thence by four Troops of Horse and Dragoons of the Militia of that City, by the Sheriffs at the Head of the *Guild*, by a Guard of his Grace's Regiment of Horse, by the State Trumpets, and great Numbers of Coaches, with Nobility and Gentry, and vast Crowds of People of all Ranks, upon the Road, making great Acclamations. On his Grace's Coming to *Rings-End*, he was saluted by a Salvo of great Guns planted there, and, on his Approach to *Lazers-Hill*, the Ordnance placed there was also discharged, and, at the End of that Street, his Grace was received by the Lord-Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen in their Formalities, and the Recorder complimented his Grace, on his Arrival in the Name of the City. The Streets were lined by the two Regiments then on Duty in *Dublin*, and the Militia; and as his Grace did not pass to the Castle, till it began to be dark, the Houses were all illuminated, and the Windows filled with Gentlemen and Ladies, and the Streets crowded with People, who followed him with repeated Huzza's, and other Expressions of Joy, greater than have appeared on the like Occasions. On his Grace's going into the Castle, the Guns in the Castle-Yard were likewise fired; he went directly to the Council-Chamber, and, after his being sworn, three Rounds of 21 Guns were again discharged, which were answered each

each Time by a Volley of small Shot from the two Regiments of the Army, and Militia; and then his Grace went to the Lord Chancellor's, where he was entertained at Supper, and the Night concluded with Ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Wine running in the Streets, and all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy.

1710. *July 9.* His Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, went with the usual Solemnity to meet the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom assembled in Parliament, and, being seated on the Throne, made the following Speech to both Houses :

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ **H**ER Majesty being graciously pleased,  
 “ that her Subjects of this Kingdom  
 “ should participate in the happy Influences  
 “ of her Government, has taken this most  
 “ early Occasion to call you together, to testify  
 “ her Affection and Care of your Welfare; and  
 “ to assure you that she will still continue the  
 “ same tender Regard for you, which she has  
 “ already shewn in so many remarkable Instances.

“ By remitting the twentieth Parts, and  
 “ granting the first Fruits for buying in Impro-  
 “ priations, her Majesty has not only conferred  
 “ a Mark of her Grace and Favour on the  
 “ present Clergy; but has provided for the  
 “ Maintenance of greater Numbers of them,  
 “ when, by the good Laws made against the

*Popish*

‘ *Popish* Religion in her Majesty’s Reign,  
‘ the Church shall be enlarged.

‘ And her Majesty has given an Instance  
‘ of Royal Bounty to the College of *Dab-*  
‘ *lin*, in Compliance with an Application  
‘ made in their Behalf last Session of Par-  
‘ liment.’

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

‘ **T**HE public Accounts, which are or-  
‘ dered to be lain before, you will de-  
‘ monstrate how careful her Majesty has been  
‘ to save you several Heads of Expence; and  
‘ therefore has considered of a less chargeable  
‘ Way, for securing the Arms and Ammu-  
‘ nition, than was formerly proposed. And  
‘ the same public Accounts will inform you,  
‘ that as her Majesty’s great Expeditions, by  
‘ Sea and Land, have occasioned the with-  
‘ drawing several Troops from hence, and  
‘ putting them on other Establishments; so  
‘ whatever hath been saved thereby, has been  
‘ applied to the public Service of this King-  
‘ dom; and her Majesty, having hitherto taken  
‘ all proper Methods for the Ease of her Sub-  
‘ jects, does judge it necessary for their Safety  
‘ and Protection, to replace, on her Establish-  
‘ ment here, so many more Troops as will  
‘ compleat the Number of her Forces; and  
‘ doubts not but that you will make Provision  
‘ accordingly. As also for the re-building, in  
‘ proper Places, the several public Offices  
‘ which the late Fire has destroyed.

‘ And

‘ And her Majesty, considering how much  
 ‘ the Estates and Properties of her Subjects of  
 ‘ this Kingdom depend upon the Records  
 ‘ thereof; doth earnestly recommend to you  
 ‘ the making Provision to prevent the great  
 ‘ Mischiefs both public and private, which  
 ‘ may arise by the Loss of those consumed in  
 ‘ the late Fire, and to preserve such as are  
 ‘ remaining;

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ I AM commanded by her Majesty to assure  
 ‘ you, that she will still continue to pre-  
 ‘ serve the Church of *Ireland*, as by Law  
 ‘ established, secure the *Protestant* Succession  
 ‘ in the House of *Hanover*, maintain and sup-  
 ‘ port the *Protestant* Religion, and the Rights  
 ‘ and Properties of all her Subjects.

‘ And as her Majesty is graciously pleased  
 ‘ to signify her Readiness to concur with you  
 ‘ in any thing, that may be for your Safety  
 ‘ and Prosperity; so she has not the least Doubt  
 ‘ but that you will proceed in the Matters  
 ‘ which shall come before you, with such  
 ‘ Temper, Unanimity, and Dispatch, as may  
 ‘ render this a happy Session to her Majesty  
 ‘ and her People.’

Thereupon the Commons waited on his  
 Grace, with an Address to her Majesty;  
 wherein they thanked her for the many In-  
 stances of her Bounty to that Kingdom, and  
 promised to comply with what had been re-  
 commended to them.

The



The House of Peers also attended his Grace with an Address to her Majesty, wherein they assure her, that they did, with most grateful Hearts, acknowledge the Blessings of her Reign; declaring that her Majesty's early Care had even prevented their own Endeavours to free the Nation from that Load of Debts, which the bringing over such Numbers of useless and indigent *Palatines*, and the erecting a stately and expensive Arsenal, had brought upon them: That her Majesty, by an unparalleled Bounty, had augmented the Revenues of the Church, by lessening her own; and she had also extended her Royal Favour to the College of *Dublin*, and at such a Juncture, as must testify to the World, that what her Majesty bestowed, was not given to promote those Principles upon which it was first applied for, but to encourage University Education, the Neglect of which had been a great Means and Occasion of the Growth of Ignorance, Prophaneness, Infidelity, and all those loose and wild Notions and Tenets, which had industriously been spread among them, to the endangering of the State, and the undermining the Foundation of all Religion: Concluding, that they would defend and support her Majesty's Throne, and, to the utmost of their Power, contribute to make the Crown, which descended to her Majesty from her Royal Ancestors, flourish on her Head: That they would endeavour to preserve her Prerogative, and those Powers with which God had entrusted her Majesty, from being lessened

ed or invaded on any factious Pretences whatsoever.

The Peers, in another Address, congratulated the Duke of *Ormonde*, on his Return to his Native Country, and his being reinstated in the Government of that Kingdom.

The Convocation of *Ireland* also attended his Grace with an Address; wherein they observe, that the Clergy had Reason to bless Almighty God, and thank her Majesty for placing his Grace again over them; to whose successful Mediation they not only owed the Restitution of their Right to sit in Convocation, with every Parliament; but in great Measure also her Majesty's remitting the twentieth Parts, and granting the first Fruits to purchase Improvements, as well as that Royal Bounty which had been lately extended to the College of *Dublin*; and pray that her Majesty may never want so faithful a Minister, the Church so good a Friend, or that Kingdom so acceptable a Governor. About the same Time, the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, with his Assessors, and the other Members of that House, attended the Upper House of Convocation, with the following Message:

*May it please your Graces and Lordships,*

THE Lower House of Convocation, preserving a just and due Sense of your Graces and Lordships paternal Care  
over

over them, and tender Regards for the Rights  
of Convocation, so often and seasonably  
shewn since their happy Restoration and  
Revival by her most gracious Majesty; and  
more particularly by your Graces and Lord-  
ships most undaunted and generous Refusal  
to join in an illegal and groundless Assertion  
or Opinion, that several of their Members had  
acted in Derogation to her Majesty's Prero-  
gative, and might be prosecuted by Way of  
Information or Indictment, for Words in-  
serted in a Protest by them signed, and en-  
tered into the Books of their House, *June*  
the 30th, 1709; and also for your Graces  
and Lordships vigorous Resolution to com-  
plain to the Lords in Parliament of those  
Men, who had, in Compliance of the then  
powerful Faction, given under their Hands  
the said Assertion or Opinion for Law; and  
likewise for your Graces and Lordships at the  
same Time ordering and empowering two  
very Worthy and Right Reverend Members  
of your most venerable Body, to undertake a  
dangerous and expensive Voyage and Journey,  
at a most discouraging Juncture, to lay the  
whole Affair in a true Light before her Majesty;  
whereby the Rights of Convocation, the Per-  
sons and Fortunes of several of their Reverend  
and Worthy Members, were preserved, and  
the lower Clergy vindicated and supported:

Have commanded me, in their Names, to  
return your Graces and Lordships their  
most solemn Thanks; their most humble

' and hearty Acknowledgments for your  
 ' Graces and Lordships great Watchfulness,  
 ' disinterested Zeal, and paternal Regard at all  
 ' Times for the Rights of Convocation; par-  
 ' ticularly for your Graces and Lordships just  
 ' and seasonable Resolution of *August* the 5th,  
 ' 1700: Wherein your Graces and Lord-  
 ' ships with a primitive Courage truly declare,  
 ' that the Convocation of *Ireland* have a Right  
 ' to be summoned, and meet with every Par-  
 ' liament that is called in this Kingdom; and  
 ' is truly a parliamentary assisting Body, con-  
 ' vened by the Queen's Writ, and hath Rights,  
 ' Powers, and Privileges of its own; and that  
 ' the Members thereof ought, and may fre-  
 ' ly debate and give their Opinions in all Mat-  
 ' ters that shall come before them; for all  
 ' which, and many other Instances of your  
 ' Graces and Lordships Justice to the Rights  
 ' of Convocation in general, and of their House  
 ' in particular; they do by me most humbly  
 ' take Leave to assure your Graces and Lord-  
 ' ships, that they will endeavour to demon-  
 ' strate to the World, that no Time, no Pow-  
 ' er, no Management, shall ever be able to ob-  
 ' literate and lessen those most dutiful and  
 ' grateful Sentiments, wherewith your Graces  
 ' and Lordships Favour, Patronage, and Pro-  
 ' tection, have justly fill'd their Hearts.'

They also returned their Thanks to the  
 Bishops of *Orery* and *Kilaloe*, for so chear-  
 fully undertaking that dangerous and expen-  
 sive Voyage and Journey for the Service of



the Convocation, and the Preservation of several of their worthy Members, from the Ruin threaten'd them by ill-designing Men, and for their resolute Adhering to the just and essential Rights of their House.

The Commons of Ireland on the other hand, being highly incens'd at those Words in the Lords Address to the Queen, *That what her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to bestow on the College of Dublin, was given at such a Juncture, as must testify to the World, that it was not given to promote those Principles, upon which it was first applied for,* drew up an Address to her Majesty ; wherein they acquaint her, that *the sound Revolution Principles*, they mention'd, only related to *the late Revolution* ; and that they had the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of all Principles that had any Tendency to any *other Revolution*, or to weaken her Majesty's undoubted hereditary and parliamentary Right ; and they pray'd, that her Majesty would not suffer any wrong Impression of her most loyal Commons to take Place in her Royal Breast.

The Lords in an Address to her Majesty, by Way of Answer to the Commons Address, observe, that, however her Majesty may justly approve the Conduct of the College of *Dublin*, in the late Revolution, they still humbly conceive, *That her Majesty did not extend her Bounty to them, to promote in general Revolution Principles ; Principles, which as explained by the Pamphlets and Labels publicly avow'd and celebrated by Men of factious and seditious Tem-*

pers, and particularly by a Sermon preached on the 30th of January, and dedicated to this very House of Commons, without Censure or Animadversion, do, in great Measure, maintain and justify the execrable Murder of King Charles the First, her Royal Grandfather; and on which might be founded any Rebellion against her Majesty and her Successors; and they took Leave to say that the Commons having mentioned the steady Adherence of the Provost and Fellows of the College to the late Revolution, as one Consideration of their Application for the Five Thousand Pounds, the subsequent Motive mentioned in that Vote, viz. for the Encouragement of sound *Revolution* Principles, cannot, in good Reason or Grammar, be referred to the late Revolution, was a distinct Motive of itself, and it is the known Nature of Principles to be the Rule and Guide of future as well as past Actions.

On the 18th of *August*, Alderman *Thomas Quin*, a troublesome factious Citizen, who had formerly been Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, being again elected into that Office, the Duke of *Ormonde* disapproved the Election: Whereupon the former Lord Mayor and Aldermen appealed to the Queen by Petition, which they transmitted to *England*; but, the Queen approving the Proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, the following Letter was sent to his Grace:

My Lord, Whitehall, Sept. 27. 1711,  
 ' The Case of the late Election of a Lord  
 ' Mayor in the City of *Dublin*, as stated by Mr.  
 ' Attorney and Mr. Solicitor-General of *Ire-*  
 ' *land*, and transmitted hither by your Grace, as  
 ' likewise the Petition of the City, have been  
 ' lain before the Queen; and her Majesty, ha-  
 ' ving taken the same into her Consideration,  
 ' commands me to acquaint you, that she ap-  
 ' proves of your Grace, and her Privy-Coun-  
 ' cil, asserting the Rights of the Crown, to dis-  
 ' approve of all Persons elected Mayors by  
 ' the Court of Aldermen, when you judge it  
 ' proper so to do.'

*I am, &c.*

### DARTMOUTH.

The Court of Aldermen proceeding after-  
 wards to chuse Alderman *Watson*, he was also  
 disapproved of, as likewise Alderman *Pier-son*;  
 but, Alderman *Gore* being chosen, the Govern-  
 ment thought fit to approve of him, though  
 his Principles were not much different from  
 those of his Brethren who preceded him.

The Reverend Mr. *Francis Higgins*, being  
 about this Time put into the Commission of  
 the Peace, and dining with the Justices at the  
*Michaelmas* Session at *Dublin* the Fourth of  
*October*, the Gentlemen of *Dublin*, to shew  
 their Respect to the Government, put about  
 several *Whiggish* Healths; to one of which  
 Mr. *Higgins* added, *and who, when they cannot*  
*obey, will patiently suffer*: For which he was

not only insulted at the Table, but the Grand Jury was prevailed upon the next Day to present him as a common Disturber of her Majesty's Peace, and a Sower of Sedition ; and they desired the Bench to concur with them in laying this Presentment before the Lord Chancellor, and in desiring him to turn Mr. *Higgins* out of the Commission of the Peace : But, the Matter having been heard before the Council, his Prosecution was found to be only the Effect of *Whiggish* Malice, and Mr. *Higgins* was continued in the Commission of the Peace, to the Satisfaction of her Majesty's loyal Subjects ; on which above Presentment of Mr. *Higgins*, Mr. *Salmon*, in his History of *England*, mentions the following Justification of that Reverend Gentleman by the Lower House of Convocation in his Favour :

‘ Whereas the Reverend Mr. *Francis Higgins*, a Member of this House, has lately in a Paper printed and published been represented and charged with having behaved himself formerly, in a Manner turbulent, and unbecoming the Character of the sacred Function of a Clergyman :

‘ And whereas he is also in the same Paper charged as an heinous Disturber of her Majesty's Peace, and Sower of Sedition and groundless Jealousies amongst her Majesty's Protestant Subjects :

‘ We, the Lower House of Convocation, think ourselves obliged, in Justice to the Character of our Member, to declare that the said

‘ Mr.



‘ Mr. *Higgins* has, ever since his being a  
‘ Member of this House, behaved himself agreeable to the Character of the sacred Function of a Clergyman ; and hath, both in his  
‘ Life and Doctrine, upon all Occasions shewn  
‘ himself to be a good Christian and a loyal  
‘ Subject.’

And now the Parliament of *Ireland*, having dispatched the Business that was before them, was prorogued to the Second of *September*, 1712 ; and the Convocation was prorogued to the same Time.

Thus we see there was a Faction in *Ireland*, as well as in *England*, zealous in propagating *Revolution Principles* ; not only approving and defending the late Revolution in 1688 (when our Constitution, Civil and Ecclesiastical, was upon the Point of being totally subverted, and the Prince assumed an arbitrary Dominion) but suggesting, that, whenever the Administration was not agreeable to the Taste of the People, they were at Liberty to resist their Prince, renounce their Allegiance, and bring about another Revolution : That the Queen had no Right to the Crown by Inheritance, but was purely the Officer and Creature of the Populace, her Sovereign Subjects, who might depose, judge, and condemn her, as they did her Royal Grandfather, whenever *they apprehended* she did not consult the Good of the People, that is, says *Salmon*, the *Whigs* ; who, though a very considerable Minority, ever assume the Title of *the People of England*, and,  
under

under that Denomination, it appears they murdered King *Charles*. But, if this Principle is admitted, it is absolutely impossible that either a Monarchy, or any other Kind of Government, can subsist many Moons; but their Revolutions will probably be swifter than those of that changeable Planet. By this Principle of perpetual Rotation, we should be in a worse Condition than the *Poles*, ever electing and ever deposing our Governors, till we are ourselves destroyed in the bloody Contest. These Principles ought therefore to be strictly guarded against, both by Prince and People, if we have any Regard to the Welfare of either. It is true some unthinking Men may imagine it a great Happiness to be able to call their Governors to Account, when their Administration does not please them: But, if they would consider, such Notions may put Princes upon becoming Tyrants, and assuming an arbitrary Dominion, which they had never thought of, perhaps, if they had not been terrified into it by such Lectures of Rebellion. Could any one blame a Prince, who was told, that, by the Constitution of his Country, the People might call him to an Account, whenever they did not like his Administration, if he should endeavour to secure his Dominion by standing Forces, or by any other Means? Self-preservation is a Principle that operates very strongly, and will be apt to make Men form very partial, and, perhaps, desperate Schemes to secure their Possession. I look upon those  
Gen-

Gentlemen therefore as much better Friends to the People, as well as the Prince they live under, who are ready to allow their Sovereign his just and legal Prerogatives, and not to exalt the Power of the People to such a Degree, as to put him upon keeping up standing Armies, and breaking in upon the Constitution in other Instances, purely to preserve himself; for the pretended Advocates of the People, by a too forward Zeal to preserve the Constitution, do, in Reality, all that lies in their Power to destroy it; and, with Liberty and Property in their Mouths, may, in the End, draw upon us an irresistible Tyranny.

But it is farther observable, that those, who are such Libertines in Government, are equally so in Religion; they will no more submit to *God*, than to *Cæsar*: Every Ecclesiastical Institution is look'd upon as an Encroachment on their Native Rights, and putting Shackles upon Mankind who were born in a State of Freedom, and ought to be indulged therefore in whatever is right in their own Eyes, in religious as well as civil Matters: And it is surprising to find, that such Men should meet with Encouragement from the Fathers and Governors of any Church, or indeed from any civil Magistrate: But to such Extreame do Party-prejudices sometimes drive unhappy Men, that Infidels, Debauchees, and the most profligate People, have been look'd upon as the best Friends to the Government; nay, it has been

lain down as a Maxim by some lewd Mortals, that the Way to make good Subjects is to eradicate all Principles of Religion and Worship, and to countenance Luxury, Irreligion, and Prophaneness, by every infernal Artifice; but such abandoned Wretches, surely, can be Friends to no Government, where the Sacred Oracles of Divine Truth are in any Veneration; for there it is declared, *that Righteousness exalteth a Nation, and Sin is the Reproach of any People.* And again, *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in Righteousness,* Prov. xxv. 5.

The Duke of Marlborough's Conduct having given the Queen Displeasure, her Majesty removed him from all his Employments, and nominated the Duke of Ormonde, in January 1711-12, Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Forces, within the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and of those employed, or to be employed Abroad, in Conjunction with the Troops of the Allies; and in *February* his fatal Commission was sign'd, appointing his Grace Captain-General of all and singular her Majesty's Forces raised, or to be raised and employed in her Service, within the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, or which were or should be employed Abroad, in Conjunction with the Troops of her Allies.

On the 9th of *April* his Grace set out from *London* to *Flanders*, accompanied on his Way by a great many of the Nobility and Persons of Distinction; on the 6th of *May* he arrived



rived at the City of *Tournay*, under a triple Salvo of the Artillery, and was entertained at Supper by the Earl of *Albemarle*, with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, the Deputies of the *States*, and some other Persons of Note ; and afterwards his Grace went to his Quarters in the Abbey of *St. Martin*. 1712.

The next Day General *Lumley* came to compliment his Grace, and in the Evening returned to *Besieux*, where the *British* Troops were encamped, having assisted at a long Conference held between Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, the Deputies of the *States*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, and several other Generals.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> his Grace, accompanied by Prince *Eugene*, left *Tournay*, and at their Departure were saluted with a triple Discharge of the Cannon, and went to take a View of the Fortifications of *Douay*, and from thence proceeded to the Camp of *Marchiennes*. The Duke of *Ormonde* took up his Quarters at the Abbey, bearing the same Name, and Prince *Eugene* his at *Anchin*. On the 23<sup>d</sup> his Grace reviewed the Right Wing of the first Line of his Army, consisting of all the *British* Troops, then in the Camp, and 16 Squadrons of Dragoons of the Auxiliary Troops in her Majesty's Pay, all which made a very fine Appearance. After the Review was over, his Grace entertained Prince *Eugene* and the General Officers of both Armies at Dinner. His Grace was on the 24<sup>th</sup> at *Bouchain*, to view the Fortifications,

tifications, and General *Fagel's* Camp on the other side the *Scheld*.

Upon a Review of the Army assembled between *Douay* and *Marchiennes*, it was found to consist of 295 Squadrons, and 143 Battalions, amounting in the Whole to 122,250 effective Men: With these Forces the Generals marched towards the Enemy. But the Duke of *Ormonde* declared to Prince *Eugene*, that the Queen, having a Prospect that the Negotiations of Peace would prove successful, had given him Orders, not to act offensively against the Enemy; of which Declaration the Prince and the Deputies in the Army soon sent Advice to the *Hague*; whereupon the Deputies of the *States* complained to the Bishop of *Bristol*, that these Orders were given without their Concurrence. But his Excellency told them her Majesty had much more Reason for Complaint, since, notwithstanding all the Advances she had made from Time to Time to the *States*, in order to encourage them to enter with her upon a Plan of Peace, their High Mightinesses had not answered her as they ought, and as her Majesty hoped they would: And therefore *they ought not to be surprized, if her Majesty did now think herself at Liberty to enter into separate Measures, in order to obtain Peace*: However, her Majesty in Hopes, that at length the Confederates would be wrought upon by her Goodness to join with her in procuring a general Peace, did condescend to permit the Duke of *Ormonde* to concur with them in a Siege,

Siege, and the Confederates thereupon sat down before *Quesnoy*.

Great Efforts were made in the House of Lords, to procure the Censure of that illustrious Assembly, upon the Orders given to the Duke of *Ormonde*, *not to act offensively*, but the Attempt was baffled; on the 28th of the same Month, *viz. May*, a Motion being made in the House of Commons, and the Question being put, ‘ That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to acquaint her Majesty, that her faithful Commons are justly alarmed at the Intelligences received from Abroad, that her General in *Flanders* has declined to act offensively against *France*, in Concurrence with her Allies; and, being under the deepest Concern for the dangerous Consequences which must arise from thence to the common Cause, do with all Humility beseech her Majesty, that speedy Instructions may be given to her General in *Flanders*, to prosecute the War with the utmost Vigour, in Conjunction with her Allies, as the best Means to obtain a safe and honourable Peace for her Majesty, and all of them; and to quiet the Minds of her People, who cannot but be extremely apprehensive of the fatal Consequences of such a Division:’ It was not only rejected by a great Majority, *viz. 203* Voices against 37, but they came also to this Resolution, namely, ‘ That this House had an entire Confidence in her Majesty’s most gracious Promise,

‘ mise, to communicate to her Parliament the  
 ‘ Terms of the Peace before the same should  
 ‘ be concluded ; and that they will support  
 ‘ her Majesty in obtaining an honourable and  
 ‘ safe Peace, against all such Persons either at  
 ‘ Home or Abroad, who have endeavoured,  
 ‘ or shall endeavour to obstruct the same.’

The Resolution being lain before her Majesty, the 30th of May, she said, *Gentlemen, I thank you most heartily for this Resolution, which is dutiful to me, honest to our Country, and very seasonable at this Time, when so many Artifices are made use of to obstruct a good Peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain.*

In the Debate of the House of Lords, concerning the Orders given the Duke of Ormonde, *not to act offensively*, it being said by a Relation of the Duke’s, that he was concerned for the Duke of Ormonde’s Reputation, that he should be the Instrument in such a Proceeding : Earl Powlet answered, *That no Body could doubt the Duke of Ormonde’s Bravery. But that he was not like a certain Lord, who led Troops to the Slaughter, that a great Number of Officers might be knocked on the Head in a Battle, or against Stone Walls, in order to fill his Pockets by disposing of their Commissions.*

This severe Reflection met with no Answer in the House ; but it was not many Days before the Duke of Marlborough sent the Author of it a Challenge by the Lord Mohun, imagining it was intended against him. Indeed,  
 by



by the Mediation of Friends, and her Majesty's Authority, the Matter was made up; but I remember the Town was very merry, that our intrepid General should pitch upon a Man, who could not see to the Point of his Sword, to wreak his Vengeance on.

On the 6th of *June*, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and, the Commons being sent for up, her Majesty, according to her Promise, communicated to them the Terms on which a Peace might be had, in the following Speech, *viz.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ **T**HE making Peace and War is the  
 ‘ undoubted Prerogative of the Crown;  
 ‘ yet such is the just Confidence I place in  
 ‘ you, that, at the Opening of this Session, I  
 ‘ acquainted you that a Negotiation for a ge-  
 ‘ neral Peace was begun; and afterwards, by  
 ‘ Messages, I promised to communicate to  
 ‘ you the Terms of Peace before the same  
 ‘ should be concluded.

‘ In Pursuance of that Promise, I now  
 ‘ come to let you know upon what Terms a  
 ‘ general Peace may be made.

‘ I need not mention the Difficulties which  
 ‘ arise from the very Nature of this Affair;  
 ‘ and it is but too apparent, that these Difficul-  
 ‘ ties have been encreased by other Obstruc-  
 ‘ tions, artfully contrived to hinder this great  
 ‘ and good Work.

‘ Nothing, however, has moved me from  
 ‘ steadily pursuing, in the first Place, the true  
 ‘ Interests of my own Kingdoms; and I  
 ‘ have not omitted any Thing, which might  
 ‘ procure to all our Allies what is due to them  
 ‘ by Treaties, and what is necessary for their  
 ‘ Security.

‘ The Assuring the *Protestant Succession*, as  
 ‘ by Law established in the House of *Hanover*,  
 ‘ to these Kingdoms, being what I have near-  
 ‘ est at Heart, particular Care is taken not only  
 ‘ to have that acknowledged in the strongest  
 ‘ Terms, but to have an additional Security by  
 ‘ the Removal of that Person out of the Do-  
 ‘ minions of *France*, who has pretended to  
 ‘ disturb this Settlement.

‘ The Apprehension that *Spain* and the  
 ‘ *West-Indies* might be united to *France*, was  
 ‘ the chief Inducement to begin this War;  
 ‘ and the effectual preventing of such an U-  
 ‘ nion was the Principle I laid down, at the  
 ‘ Commencement of this Treaty. Former  
 ‘ Examples, and the late Negotiations, suffi-  
 ‘ ciently shew how difficult it is to find  
 ‘ Means to accomplish this Work: I would  
 ‘ not content myself with such as are specu-  
 ‘ lative, or depend upon Treaties only; I in-  
 ‘ sisted on what was solid, and to have at  
 ‘ Hand the Power of executing what should  
 ‘ be agreed.

‘ I can therefore now tell you, that  
 ‘ *France* at last is brought to offer, that the  
 ‘ Duke

‘ Duke of *Anjou* shall for himself, and his  
 ‘ Descendants, renounce, for ever, all Claim to  
 ‘ the Crown of *France*; and, that this impor-  
 ‘ tant Article may be exposed to no Hazard, the  
 ‘ Performance is to accompany the Promise.

‘ At the same Time the Succession to the  
 ‘ Crown of *France* is to be declared, after the  
 ‘ Death of the present *Dauphin* and his Sons,  
 ‘ to be on the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons,  
 ‘ on the Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and so  
 ‘ on to the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

‘ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Succession  
 ‘ to those Dominions, after the Duke of *An-*  
 ‘ *jou* and his Children, is to descend to such  
 ‘ Prince as shall be agreed upon at the Trea-  
 ‘ ty, for ever excluding the rest of the House  
 ‘ of *Bourbon*.

‘ For confirming the Renunciations and  
 ‘ Settlements before mentioned, it is further  
 ‘ offered, that they should be ratified in the  
 ‘ most strong and solemn Manner, both in  
 ‘ *France* and *Spain*, and that those Kingdoms,  
 ‘ as well as all the other Powers engaged in  
 ‘ the present War, shall be Guarantees to the  
 ‘ same.

‘ The Nature of this Proposal is such, that  
 ‘ it executes itself; the Interest of *Spain* is to  
 ‘ support it; and in *France*, the Persons, to  
 ‘ whom that Succession is to belong, will be  
 ‘ ready and powerful enough to vindicate  
 ‘ their own Right.

‘ *France* and *Spain* are now more effectual-  
 ‘ ly divided than ever; and thus, by the Bless-

‘ sing of God, will a real Ballance of Power  
‘ be fixed in *Europe*, and remain liable to  
‘ as few Accidents, as human Affairs can be  
‘ exempted from.

‘ A Treaty of Commerce between these  
‘ Kingdoms and *France* has been entered up-  
‘ on; but the excessive Duties laid on some  
‘ Goods, and the Prohibitions of others, make  
‘ it impossible to finish this Work as soon as it  
‘ were to be desired; Care is however taken  
‘ to establish a Method of settling this Matter,  
‘ and in the mean Time Provision is made, that  
‘ the same Privileges and Advantages, as shall  
‘ be granted to any other Nation by *France*,  
‘ shall be granted in like Manner to us.

‘ The Division of the Island of *St. Christo-*  
‘ *pher*, between us and the *French*, having  
‘ been made the Cause of great Inconveniency  
‘ and Damage to my Subjects, I have de-  
‘ manded to have an absolute Cession made  
‘ to me of the whole Island, and *France* agrees  
‘ to this Demand.

‘ Our Interest is so deeply concerned in the  
‘ Trade of *North America*, that I have used  
‘ my utmost Endeavours to adjust that Article  
‘ in the most beneficial Manner. *France*  
‘ consents to restore us the whole Bay and  
‘ Streights of *Hudson*; to deliver up the I-  
‘ sland of *Newfoundland*, with *Placentia*; and  
‘ to make an absolute Cession of *Annapolis*,  
‘ with the rest of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie*;  
‘ The Safety of our Home Trade will be bet-

‘ ter



ter provided for by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

Our *Mediterranean* Trade, and the *British* Influence and Interest in those Parts, will be secured by the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-mahon*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, which are offered to remain in my Hands.

The Trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* may in general be settled, as it was in the Time of the late King of *Spain*, *Charles* the II<sup>d</sup>; and a particular Provision be made, that all Advantages, Rights, and Privileges, which have been granted, or may hereafter be granted by *Spain* to any other Nation, shall be in like Manner granted to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*.

But, the Part which we have borne in the Prosecution of this War entitling us to some Distinction in the Terms of Peace, I have insisted and obtained, that the *Assiento*, or Contract for furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with Negroes, shall be made with us for the Term of thirty Years, in the same Manner as it has been enjoyed by the *French* for ten Years past.

I have not taken upon me to determine the Interests of our Confederates; these must be adjusted in the Congress of *Utrecht*, where my best Endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and rea-

‘ sonable Satisfaction: In the mean Time, I  
‘ think it proper to acquaint you, that *France*  
‘ offers to make the *Rhine* the Barrier of the  
‘ Empire; to yield *Brisack*, the Fort of *Kehl*,  
‘ and *Landau*, and to raze all the Fortresses  
‘ both on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and on  
‘ that River.

‘ As to the *Protestant* Interest in *Germany*,  
‘ there will be on the Part of *France* no Ob-  
‘ jection to the resettling thereof on the Foot  
‘ of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

‘ The *Spanish Low-Countries* may go to his  
‘ Imperial Majesty; the Kingdoms of *Naples*  
‘ and *Sardinia*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the  
‘ Places belonging to *Spain*, on the Coast of  
‘ *Tuscany*, may likewise be yielded by the  
‘ Treaty of Peace to the Emperor.

‘ As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, tho’ there  
‘ remains no Dispute concerning the Cession  
‘ of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet the Dis-  
‘ position thereof is not yet determined.

‘ The Interests of the States-General, with  
‘ Respect to Commerce, are agreed to, as  
‘ they have been demanded by their own Mi-  
‘ nisters, with the Exception only of some very  
‘ few Species of Merchandize; and the entire  
‘ Barrier, as demanded by the States in 1709  
‘ from *France*, except two or three Places  
‘ at most.

‘ As to these Exceptions, several Expedients  
‘ are proposed, and I make no Doubt but this  
‘ Barrier may be so settled, as to render that  
‘ Republic perfectly secure against any Enter-  
‘ prize

prize on the Part of *France*; which is the Foundation of all my Engagements upon this Head with the States.

The Demands of *Portugal* depending on the Disposition of *Spain*, and that Article having been long in Dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable Progress therein, but my Plenipotentiaries will now have an Opportunity to assist that King in his Pretensions.

Those of the King of *Prussia* are such as I hope will admit of little Difficulty on the Part of *France*; and my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an Ally.

The Difference between the Barrier demanded for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the Offers now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable; but, that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the Service of the common Cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still farther Advantages.

*France* has consented, that the *Electör Palatine* shall continue his present Rank among the Electors, and remain in Possession of the *Upper Palatinate*.

The Electoral Dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of *Hanover*, according to the Article inserted, at that Prince's Desire, in my Demands.

And, as to the rest of the Allies, I make no Doubt of being able to secure their several Interests.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ I have now communicated to you, not only the Terms of Peace, which may by the future Treaty be obtained for my own Subjects, but likewise the Proposals of *France* for satisfying our Allies.

‘ The former are such as I have Reason to expect to make my People some Amends, for that great and unequal Burthen, which they have lain under, through the whole Course of the War; and I am willing to hope, that none of our Confederates, and especially those to whom so great Accessions of Dominion and Power are to accrue, by this Peace, will envy *Britain* her Share in the Glory and Advantage of it.

‘ The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more Time might have rendered them; but, the Season of the Year making it necessary to put an End to this Session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these Matters to you.

‘ I can make no Doubt but you are fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my Part, in the Progress of the Negotiation, to bring the Peace to an happy and speedy Issue; and I depend on your entire Confidence in me, and on your chearful Concurrency with me.’

On the 9th of *June* the Commons waited on her Majesty, with the following Address of Thanks, for communicating to them the  
Terms,



Terms, on which a Peace might be had  
*viz.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal  
‘ Subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain*  
‘ in Parliament assembled, beg Leave most  
‘ humbly to acknowledge your Majesty’s great  
‘ Condescension, in communicating to us the  
‘ Terms, upon which a general Peace may be  
‘ made.

‘ Our Hearts are full of Gratitude, for  
‘ what your Majesty has already done; and we  
‘ want Words to express the Satisfaction with  
‘ which we have received all that your Maje-  
‘ sty has been pleased to impart to your Com-  
‘ mons.

‘ We have an entire Confidence in your  
‘ Majesty, that you will steadily pursue the  
‘ true Interest of your own Kingdoms, and  
‘ that you will endeavour to procure for all  
‘ your Allies what is due to them by Treaties,  
‘ and what is necessary for their Security.

‘ These Assurances are the least Returns  
‘ which your faithful Commons can make  
‘ to so much Condescension and Goodness;  
‘ and they humbly desire your Majesty, that  
‘ you will please to proceed in the present  
‘ Negotiations, for the obtaining a speedy  
‘ Peace.’

*Her*

*Her Majesty's Answer.*

‘ I Have the Safety and Interest of my People so much at Heart, that I cannot but take a great deal of Pleasure, in this your dutiful and prudent Address, and thank you most kindly for it.

‘ I have studied your Welfare, and by this you will find the good Effects of that Confidence, which you place in me, and which ought always to remain between so affectionate a Prince and such faithful Subjects.’

The House of Lords also attended her Majesty with an Address of Thanks, for communicating to them the Terms of Peace, the 10th of *June*, in the following Words :

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our humble Thanks for your Majesty’s most gracious Speech from the Throne ; and for your Majesty’s most extraordinary Condescension, in communicating to your Parliament the Terms upon which a general Peace may be made ; and we cannot but express our entire Satisfaction in your Majesty’s great Care, for securing the *Protestant* Succession, in the House of *Hanover* ; and for your Majesty’s

‘ steadily

‘ steadily pursuing, in the first Place, the true  
 ‘ Interests of your own Kingdoms, and for  
 ‘ endeavouring to procure to your Allies  
 ‘ what is due to them by Treaties, and what  
 ‘ is necessary for their Safety : And we do with  
 ‘ all Humility assure your Majesty, *That this*  
 ‘ *House doth entirely rely on your Majesty’s*  
 ‘ *Wisdom to finish this great and good Work.*’

*Her Majesty’s Answer.*

*My Lords,*

‘ I most heartily thank you for this Ad-  
 ‘ dress; the Satisfaction you express, in  
 ‘ what I have lain before you, will contribute  
 ‘ very much to remove the Difficulties which  
 ‘ have arisen in the Course of this Negotia-  
 ‘ tion; and the Confidence, you place in me,  
 ‘ will enable me better to finish this great  
 ‘ Work, for the Advantage of my own Peo-  
 ‘ ple, and the Safety and Interest of my  
 ‘ Allies.’

‘ The Bishop of *St. Asaph*, in a Preface to  
 some of his Sermons, reflecting upon her Ma-  
 jesty’s Change of the Ministry, and the Ad-  
 vances that had been made towards a Peace;  
 the Commons, upon Reading it in the House,  
 resolved, first, *that the said Preface is Ma-*  
*licious and Factious, highly reflecting upon the*  
*present Administration of the Public Affairs,*  
*under her Majesty, and tending to create Sedi-*  
*tion and Discord among her Subjects.* 2dly, *That*  
*the*

*the said Preface be burned by the Hands of the Common Hangman in the Palace-Yard, Westminster; and that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex do assist the Serjeant at Arms, in the Execution thereof; which was performed accordingly.*

The *States-General* also sent over a Letter, directed indeed to the Queen, but calculated chiefly to raise the Passions of the Mob, and give them ill Impressions of her Majesty, and the Treaty she was carrying on; which they procured to be printed, and dispersed in *England*, at the very Instant, if not before, it came to her Hands.

In this Letter they acquaint her Majesty, that they are surprized and afflicted at the two Declarations, made by the Duke of *Ormonde* and the Bishop of *Bristol*: That after her Majesty had assured them, her Troops should act with the usual Vigour, it was very difficult for them to conceive how an Order should be obtained against their Acting offensively; and they hoped they had given no Occasion, by their Conduct, for that Declaration made by the Bishop of *Bristol*; namely, *that she held herself to be disengaged from every Obligation, with Regard to them.* They acknowledged indeed, that her Majesty's Ministers, had demanded to know of theirs, if they were furnished with full Powers to treat of a Peace (which it seems they were not;) and that they had refused to come into her Majesty's



Majesty's Plan, lest the Emperor should have taken Umbrage at it: But,

They said, if they had shewn some Backwardness to act in Concert with her Majesty, they hoped she would attribute it only to an Excess of Prudence and Caution in them; and, if they had really acted contrary to their Treaties and Engagements with her Majesty, she ought not immediately to look upon herself as *disengaged from all Obligations*, till she had represented wherein they had failed, and they had refused to have given Redress. That all the Difference between her Majesty and them was no more, if rightly considered, than a Disparity of Sentiments; and if, for such a Cause, Confederates united by the strongest Ties might quit their Engagements, no Engagements could be relied on for the Time to come.

The House of Commons, upon the publishing this Letter in *England*, addressed her Majesty, and assured her, they had a just Sense of the Indignity offered her Majesty, by printing and publishing this Letter, and humbly desired her Majesty, that she would so far resent such Indignities, as to give no Answer, for the future, to any Letters or Memorials that should be so printed or published; and soon after her Majesty sent the following Answer to the *States* :

*Higb*

*High and Mighty Lords, Friends, Allies,  
and Confederates :*

“ T H E R E is nothing dearer to us, than  
“ the Conservation of a good Under-  
“ standing, and a perfect Union with your  
“ State: This has been the principal Object  
“ of our Care ; and we have so little Ground  
“ to accuse ourselves, of having in the least  
“ contributed to the lessening of the same, that  
“ we reflect with Pleasure on the Pains we  
“ have taken in all the Instances we have  
“ made, that the Disputes which have hap-  
“ pened, with Relation to the Interests of the  
“ two Nations, should be amicably determined,  
“ so as we might communicate our Thoughts  
“ to one another, without Reserve, upon those  
“ of the Public ; for in the present Conjunction  
“ of Affairs, there ought to be an equal Frank-  
“ ness on both Sides, and a mutual Confi-  
“ dence.

“ We suppose the Alarms, which you took  
“ on Account of the Declarations made by  
“ the Duke of *Ormonde* and the Bishop of  
“ *Bristol*, are now over ; and we repeat to you  
“ what we have so often declared, that it will  
“ be your own Fault, as it has been in Time  
“ past, if all our Measures about War; or  
“ Peace, be not taken in Concert with your  
“ State.

“ The Earl of *Strafford* will be with you  
“ in a few Days, with full Instructions con-  
“ cerning our Intentions: Our Ministers will  
“ be disposed and authorized, to do all that is  
“ incum-

‘ incumbent on us, to renew an entire Con-  
 ‘ fidence with you, and to prevent, for the  
 ‘ future, such Misunderstandings as have been  
 ‘ fomented with so much Artifice, and so lit-  
 ‘ tle Foundation.

‘ But we cannot pass over in Silence our great  
 ‘ Surprise, to see that your Letter of the 5th  
 ‘ Instant, N. S. was printed and published  
 ‘ almost as soon as we received it from the  
 ‘ Hands of your Minister; a Proceeding  
 ‘ which is equally contrary to good Politics  
 ‘ and Decency: *’Tis a Remonstrance, instead of*  
 ‘ *a Representation, and an Appeal to the Peo-*  
 ‘ *ple, instead of an Address to the Sovereign.*  
 ‘ We hope that you will not suffer the like to  
 ‘ be done again; for our Honour will engage  
 ‘ us to give no Answer to any Letters or Me-  
 ‘ morials, which shall be published in that  
 ‘ Manner.’ For the rest we pray, &c.

*Kensington, June 25,*

1712.

Had the Letter from the *States* been fram’d  
 with a View of imposing upon any but the  
 Mob, they could not have had the Face to  
 affirm they had never acted contrary to their  
 Treaties or Engagements with *England*; or  
 that their Breach of Faith had never been  
 taken Notice of by us, or represented to them.  
 Is it not apparent, that, from the Beginning of  
 the War, they never furnished their *Quota* of  
 Shipping one Year, and hardly one their *Quo-*  
*ta* of Land Forces? Will they deny that they  
 continued to trade or correspond with *France*  
 ‘ during

during the War? Will they say that they are ignorant of the many Representations the Houses of Parliament, both *Whig* and *Tory*, made upon these Subjects to the Throne? Or that they were not pressed by her Majesty to furnish their *Quota's*? And when they had thus imposed upon us for seven Years successively, and *made our Ministers easy* (though it was impossible the Nation should be so under this unequal Burden) do they now wipe their Mouths, and ask what Treaties have we broken, or when has any Thing of this Nature been represented to us? Even the *English* Mob were not thus to be imposed upon, and these vile Insinuations and Suggestions had very little Effect, *even upon them*.

Nor was their Behaviour in the Treaty of Peace more ingenuous than their Conduct in the War; they assumed a Power of prescribing as well the Manner of treating, as the Terms to be accepted. They would insist upon some impossible Condition, and thereby render every Negotiation ineffectual. Nothing could be more advantageous to them, they thought, than a Continuance of the War, in the Manner it was managed; and they had gained such a Party among ourselves, that we were induc'd, for many Years, to submit to whatever they were pleased to impose upon us; nay, even our Ministers were not so much as admitted to some Treaties, but we contented ourselves with their Report; and yet after all  
the



the Administration in those Days was still applauded to the Skies by some.

On the 17th of *June*, Mr. *Hampden* proposed to address the Queen, to give Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that the several Powers in Alliance with her Majesty might be Guarantees of the *Protestant* Succession; but this was carried in the Negative by a great Majority; and, on the contrary, it was resolved, 1<sup>st</sup>, That this House has such an entire Confidence in the repeated Declarations her Majesty has been pleased to make of her Concern for assuring to these Kingdoms the Succession as by Law established in the House of *Hanover*, that they can never doubt her Majesty's taking the proper Measures for the Security thereof; and that this House will support her Majesty against Faction at Home, and her Enemies Abroad; and that this House does humbly beseech her Majesty, that she will be pleased to discountenance all those, who shall endeavour to raise Jealousies between her Majesty and her Subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good Intentions for the Welfare of her People. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the said Resolution be lain before her Majesty. At the presenting whereof her Majesty answered:

*Gentlemen,*

I return you hearty Thanks for this Resolution, which is very becoming you, who truly represent all my Commons.

‘ You have shewn yourselves honest Assertors of the Monarchy, zealous Defenders of the Constitution, and real Friends to the *Protestant* Succession.

‘ What I have said and done is sufficient to satisfy any Person who is in earnest for the Succession, as by Law established in the House of *Hanover*, that I need not be put in Mind of doing any Thing which may contribute to render that Succession secure.’

The Peace being now so far advanced, her Majesty thought fit to propose a Cessation of Arms to the Allies; and accordingly on the 24th of *June*, N. S. the Duke of *Ormonde*, pursuant to the Directions he had received from Court, sent to Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States* attending the Army, to desire a Conference with them the next Day; wherein he declared, That he had received Orders from the Queen his Mistress, to publish, within three Days, a Suspension of Arms for two Months between his Army and the *French*, and to make a Detachment to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; which Place the King of *France* would put into the Hands of the *English*, as a Security for the Performance of his Promises; for which Purpose his Grace had already named ten Battalions to take forthwith the Route of *Furnes*. The *British* General also proposed, that the like Suspension of Arms should be published in the Confederate Army, and, Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies demanding some Time to write

write about it, to their respective Sovereigns, the Duke of *Ormonde* answered, that was not in his Power to grant; and, if they persisted to carry on the Siege of *Quesnoy*, he could cover the same no longer, but must march off with his Troops within three Days. His Grace likewise acquainted the Generals of the Foreign Troops in the *British* Pay, that they must obey his Orders, otherwise they ought not to expect to have Bread, Pay, or their Ar-rears. To which those Generals answered, that, being commanded to act against the *French*, they could not follow contrary Orders, without knowing the Intentions of their Principals, and therefore demanded Time to consult them; declaring, that, in the mean Time, they would continue with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*; whereupon the Duke of *Ormonde* declared again that he would march in three Days.

However, his Grace suspended the March of his Troops for some Days beyond the Time he had limited, to give Space to the rest of the Allies to come into the Cessation of Arms; but Prince *Eugene* having before tampered with the Mercenaries in the *British* Pay, and persuaded them not to march off with the Duke, they absolutely refused to come into the Cessation, and Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States* sent Orders to the Governors of the Frontier Towns, not to suffer the *English* Troops designed for *Dunkirk* to march thro' those Towns, which the *English* had been so

lavish of their Blood and Treasure to make them Masters of.

On the 27th of *June*, the Bishop of *Bristol* at a Conference held at *Utrecht*, between the Ministers of the Allies, communicated to them the Offers made by *France*, and proposed to them a Cessation of Arms for two Months, in order to adjust the Demands of all the Confederates ; but, no Answer being returned, the Bishop left them to consider the Proposals.

On the 28th of *June*, N. S. the Duke of *Ormonde* sent his Adjutant with a written Order, to the Generals of the Foreign Troops in *British* Pay, to hold their Forces in a Readiness to march ; but they all refused to obey his Orders, except Major *Brenner*, who commanded four Squadrons, and a Battalion of the Troops of *Holstein Gottorp* ; and Major General *Walck*, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons of the Troops of *Liege* ; nor is it at all to be wondered at, that Mercenaries should prefer their Trade of War to any Peace whatever. But to proceed : On the 3d of *July* *Quesnoy* surrendered, the Armies not being yet separated, and the Garrison, being made Prisoners of War, were sent to *Holland*.

The *Imperialists* and the *Dutch*, having tried every Stratagem to divert the Queen of *Great-Britain* from proceeding in the Treaty of Peace : At length a great Book of Lamentations was published in *Holland*, called, *The Sighs of Europe*, full of Invectives against the *British* Court, and dismal Prophecies of approach-



approaching Slavery, Persecution, &c. which, they pretended to prognosticate, would be the certain Consequences of a Peace with *France*.

But so little were their Sighs regarded, that, on the 20th of *June*, Mr. Secretary *St. John*, at a Conference with the Foreign Ministers, whose Masters Troops were in the Pay of *Great-Britain*, acquainted them with the Intelligence her Majesty had received, that those Troops refused to obey the Duke of *Ormonde's* Orders; he observed that the Conditions of Peace and War were now no longer the Matter in Question, but *whether her Majesty should have the Management of the Negotiations of Peace, or the Dutch*. That her Majesty would look upon the Refusal of the Auxiliary Troops to obey the Duke of *Ormonde*, as a Declaration against herself; and that she had resolved not to pay any more Subsistence, Subsidy, or Arrears, to those who should continue to disobey the Duke's Orders: He told them also, that fresh Orders would forthwith be dispatched to the Duke of *Ormonde*, to take Possession of such Towns as *France* had offered to deliver up to her Majesty, as a Security for the Performance of what she had stipulated; which Places could not be taken in two Years War, and were far more advantageous than any that could be now reduced: And therefore her Majesty hoped, that the Allies would think it more their Interest to concur with her, than to enter into other Measures.

To this the Foreign Ministers only answered, that they would acquaint their respective Masters with this Declaration.

Soon after her Majesty received Advice from *Paris*, that, notwithstanding the Allies had refused to concur with *Great-Britain*, in a general Cessation of Arms, the *French King*, to shew his sincere Intentions for Peace, and the Confidence he reposed in her Majesty, was ready to deliver up *Dunkirk* into her Hands, not doubting of her Endeavours to bring the Allies into the Plan of Peace, concerted between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *France*.

Hereupon Sir *John Leake* was ordered to convoy a Body of Troops from *England*, to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; on the Mercenaries refusing to march with the Duke of *Ormonde*, it was not thought proper to lessen the *English* Troops under his Command, by sending a Detachment of them to *Dunkirk*, as was at first intended; therefore on the 7th of *July* Sir *John Leake*, with Brigadier *Hill*, who commanded the Land Forces, set sail from the *Downs*, and, at Two the same Afternoon, they came to an Anchor before *Dunkirk*; and the next Day, the Troops being landed, the *French* marched out of the Citadel, Fort *Lewis*, and the *Risebank*, and all the other Forts; of which the *English* took Possession, and placed Guards at all the Gates: After this the Count de *l'Aumont*, the *French* Governor, came and took his Leave of Brigadier *Hill*, and delivered up to him the Keys of the Town.

On the 14th of *July* in the Evening, Prince *Eugene* sent an Aid de Camp, to acquaint the Duke

Duke of *Ormonde*, that he was obliged to decamp the next Day, both for Forage, and to prosecute the Operations of the Campaign; and, if his Grace intended to do the like, in Concert with him, his Highness would confer with him at such Place as his Grace should please to appoint: The Duke answered in Writing, that he thought it strange, such a Message should be sent him by an ordinary Aid de Camp, and that only twelve or thirteen Hours before the Prince was to march, because no Measures had been concerted between them, relating either to their Motions, or any farther Undertaking; for which Reasons, his Highness ought not to expect that he should accompany him, or be assisting in any Operations, wherein he had not been consulted: That he gave the Prince this Notice, that he might regulate himself accordingly, and not attribute to him any Misfortune, which might happen; and that he also thought it proper to let his Highness understand, that, if the Imperial Army marched away and left him, he should be obliged to take the best Methods he could for the Security of the Queen's Troops.

Whereupon Prince *Eugene* on the 16th of July, N. S. decamped from *Hasppe*, and marched off with the Troops under his Command, being followed by all the Mercenaries in *British* Pay, except four Squadrons of *Vander Nath*, a Battalion of *Holstein Gottorp*, and Baron *Walef's* Regiment of Dragoons.

The next Day Prince *Eugene* caused *Landrecy* to be invested: The Duke of *Ormonde* also decamped, and came to *Avesne le Secq*, and the same Day he caused the Cessation of Arms, between *Great-Britain* and *France*, for two Months, to be proclaimed. On the 17th in the Evening, an Aid de Camp arrived in the Duke of *Ormonde*'s Camp from Marshal *Villars*, with the News, that the Cessation of Arms had likewise that Day been proclaimed in the *French* Army. Before this Separation of the Confederate Troops, the Deputies of the States did not scruple to say publicly, *That they hoped the Duke of Ormonde did not intend to march through any of their Towns*, (meaning the Towns that had been conquered by the *English* Arms) and accordingly, when some *English* Officers would have passed thro' *Bouchain*, they were refused Entrance at the Gates, and told by the Guard, *That positive Orders were given to let no Englishman come into the Town*: The Officers desiring that the Commandant might be acquainted, that they were at the Gates, he returned them the same Answer; and when the *British* Army came near *Doway*, where was their Hospital, with great Part of their Stores, and Ammunition and Baggage, the Commandant would not suffer an *Englishman* to come into the Town. The Duke of *Ormonde* hereupon, in order to reduce the *Dutch* to Reason, bent his March towards the City of *Ghent*, where Part of his Artillery and Stores were lain up. Prince  
*Eugene*



*Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States*, having Notice of the Duke's Marching towards *Ghent*; and being sensible he would soon have it in his Power to revenge the Affront which had been put upon him, dispatched Count *Nassau Wandenburg*, to excuse the insolent Behaviour of the Commandants of *Bouchain* and *Doway*, pretending, that what had been done, was without their Authority or Privity. The Duke of *Ormonde*, however, continued his March, and, with the Earl of *Strafford*, arrived at *Ghent* the 23d of *July*, N. S. (the Troops encamping about a Mile and a Half from that City) here they were highly complimented, and caressed by the Magistrates, the President of the Council of *Flanders*, and the two Colleges, which compose the Government of that City; and mighty Professions they made of their Zeal for the Queen's Service, and of their Readiness to promote her Majesty's good Intentions, for procuring Peace to *Europe*. The Duke of *Ormonde* having put four Battalions of the *British* Troops into *Ghent*, and as many into *Bruges*, detached six Battalions to reinforce the Garrison of *Dunkirk*, with a Train of Artillery and Ammunition.

It was not long before the Confederates discovered their Error, in separating themselves from the *British* Troops, and refusing to come into the Queen's Measures; for having form'd the Siege of *Landrecy*, without consulting the Duke of *Ormonde*, as has been mentioned, and detach'd the Earl of *Albemarle*, with thirteen

Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, to take Post at *Denain*, on the *Schelde*, to secure their Communication with *Marchiennes*, where was their Magazine, and from whence they drew their Ammunition and Provision: Marshal *Villars* fell upon that Body on the 24th of *July*, before Prince *Eugene* could bring any Forces to their Assistance, and routed them intirely. About 3000 of the Confederate Troops were killed, or drowned, and as many more taken Prisoners, and among them the Earl of *Albemarle*; their General, Count *Dhona*, Lieutenant-general, and Governor of *Mons*, was drowned; Count *Nassau Wondenburg* died by the Sword; and the *French* found in the Camp 12 Brass Cannon, great Quantities of Ammunition and Provision, besides Horses and a very considerable Booty, which they divided among their Soldiers.

The *French* afterwards made themselves Masters of *St. Amand*, the Garrison to the Number of 800 Men surrendering themselves Prisoners of War; then they invested *Marchiennes*, where was the great Magazine of the Confederates; which Garrison also surrendered Prisoners of War the 31st of *July*. There were in the Place above a Hundred Boulders, laden with three Hundred Thousand Weight of Powder, which the *Dutch* Commissary caused to be sunk in the *Scarpe* before the Siege. There were also above one Hundred Pieces of Cannon, 300 Waggon with their Harnesses; the Hospital of the Army; and

and in the Store-houses, or in the Bilanders, a prodigious Number and Quantity of Bombs, Grenadoes, Bullets, Musket-Balls, Powder, Corn, Meal, Hams, Bacon, Cheese, Butter, Beer, Wine, Brandy, Merchandize, Ladders, Hatchets, Bills, Planks, Match, Flints, and, in a Word, all Sorts of Provisions necessary for making two Sieges; there were likewise many Horses: Part of the Provisions were given to the Soldiers. The Prisoners, who marched out of the Place, were to the Number of about 4000, without including 8 or 900 Wounded or Sick, and in this Siege not above 600 Men of the *French* Troops were killed or wounded.

After the Defeat of *Denain*, and the Loss of their Magazine at *Marchiennes*, the Confederates were no longer able to carry on the Siege of *Landrecy*, but were forced to rise from before that Place with some Precipitation; and Marshal *Villars* found himself in a Condition to besiege *Doway*, which he caused to be invested the 13th of *August*.

And now the Allies began to wish they had treated their old Friends the *English* with less Contempt: When they first tamper'd with the *British* Mercenaries, and induced them treacherously to desert her Majesty's Service, they thought they should have been able to have carried on the War Offensively, without the National Troops of *England*, which consisting of about 20,000 Men only, they did not believe could incline the Ballance any one Way  
or

or other, especially while they had their much admired Hero Prince *Eugene* at their Head ; and how base and ungrateful soever the Practice might then appear, of inveigling the Troops in her Majesty's Pay to desert her Service, a little Success they knew would sanctify the Action, at least in the Opinion of their own Subjects ; and indeed, an ill Action is seldom consider'd, with a just Detestation and Abhorrence, till some Misfortune overtakes us, and then it never fails to appear in its true Colours. But to return, Fort *Scarpe* surrendered to Marshal *Villars* the 28th of *August*, and the Town of *Doway* itself on the 8th of *April* following. The *French* immediately after laid Siege to *Quesnoy*, which surrendered also the 4th of *October* : The Garrison being made Prisoners of War, as the Garrison of *Doway* had been. According to the *French* Account, they found in *Quesnoy* 116 heavy Cannon, and a great Number of others ; 40 Mortars, four or five Hundred Thousand Weight of Powder, with a proportionable Quantity of other Ammunition and Provisions, amounting to the Value of three Millions of Livres ; and they assured us, that this Garrison compleated the Number of 40 Battalions of the Allies they had destroyed or made Prisoners, since the Defeat of *Denain*, which happened the 24th of *July*.

In the mean while the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* began to shew some Disposition for Peace, and proposed a new Plan, which



which came much nearer to that of her Majesty's, than any they had hitherto offered : Whereupon her Majesty thought fit to renew the Suspension of Arms with *France* for four Months longer, viz. from the 22d of *August*, to the 22d of *December*. This Negotiation was transacted and sign'd at *Paris* by the Lord *Bolingbroke* on the Part of *England*, and by the Marquis *de Torcy* on the Part of *France* ; and, the latter End of *August*, the said Cessation was proclaimed both in *England* and *France* : The *Dutch* refusing to come into the Suspension of Arms, Marshal *Villars* sat down before *Bouchain* on the 10th of *October*, and on the 19th of the same Month the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, which put an End to the Campaign in *Flanders*.

Thus did the *French* retake the same Towns within the Space of two Months, which had cost the Confederates two Years : Either their Generals understood Taking of Towns better than those of the Allies, or our Generals were not in haste to penetrate into *France*, lest the War should have been too soon at an End. But to return to *England*.

The Negotiations of Peace seem to have been at a stand the preceding Winter, till the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at the *Hague*, from *England*, the 6th of *December* ; when he communicated to the *States* a new Plan of a Treaty, but told them at the same Time, that he wish'd the Love of War, and the private Interests of some Persons, had never given Occasion for a Coldness

Coldness in that Friendship, which might have proved fatal to their State, and might yet prove so, if the last Offers now made on the Part of her Majesty, for re-establishing a perfect Union with this State, should not be accepted: That it was apparent, the Irresolution of the *States* had been attended by very unhappy Accidents; and that her Majesty was very desirous they would at length fix upon some Propositions, which might be reasonable in themselves, and of such a Nature that, in the unlucky Conjunction Affairs then stood, they might be obtained of *France*. He said he had brought with him also the Plan of a new Treaty of Succession and Barrier, and must insist that this Treaty might be signed before the Peace; for, in the present Treaty of Barrier, many Things were inserted disadvantageous to *Britain*, and which could not be reconciled, either to the Letter or the Design of the Grand Alliance; nor were even conformable to any Principles, upon which the present Confederacy was made, and the War begun.

Lastly, he told them, that, notwithstanding all the Provocations, and all the Delays on the Part of the *States*, the Queen had hitherto kept the Negotiations open; but she thought she had now retarded it long enough, and possibly too long in good Policy: That therefore the Offers, which her Majesty made, were her ultimate Resolutions; and that this was the last Time she would address herself to their High Mightinesses, in case they formed new Delays,  
and

and did not answer her Majesty's good Intentions for their own Interests. He said her Majesty also expected the Concurrence of the *States*, in all she had stipulated for his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, as also for obliging the *Emperor* to a Neutrality in *Italy*, and to withdraw his Troops from *Catalonia*.

The *States* having considered the new Plan proposed, but much more the Circumstances they had reduced themselves to, by haughtily contemning all former Propositions made them; by her Majesty, immediately laid hold of this Opportunity of reconciling themselves to her, and on the 29th of *December*, *N. S.* wrote a very submissive Letter to her Majesty; wherein they told her, they thought themselves obliged to return her Majesty Thanks for the *Overtures* she had caused the Earl of *Strafford* to lay before them, and for the Assurances, no less obliging than strong, she had added to them, both of her Majesty's Desire to procure a good Peace for all *Europe*, and to provide for the Safety and even *Augmentation of their State*; and declared, *they were resolved to join with her Majesty in the Measures she had taken, and to conclude and sign the Peace at the same Time jointly with her*; as also to enter into a new Treaty with her Majesty about the Succession and Barrier, and to conclude and sign it before the Peace.

On the contrary, the associated Circles of *Germany* made heavy Complaints against the Plan of Peace proposed by her Majesty: They  
said,

said, *the Circles had performed all the Conditions, to which the Treaty of the Grand Alliance obliged them* : That they had stood the greatest Brunts, and suffered all the Inconveniences that could be expected from so bloody and ruinous a War, and so powerful an Enemy ; *and that at their own Expence, and without troubling her Majesty for one Penny Subsidy*, having an entire Confidence, that her Majesty, as she had often declared, would not fail to remember their good Services ; that they were encouraged to hope they should now have reaped some Fruit of their Expences and Sufferings : But that no Amends, no Barrier, or Security was stipulated for them by this Treaty. And they submitted to her Majesty's Wisdom, and the *Generosity of the British Nation* (that is, they appealed to the People) whether *such good and faithful Allies* ought to be abandoned, and left in the miserable Condition into which they had been plunged by former Treaties.

To this the *British* Plenipotentiaries answered, with much more Truth, that if the associated Circles did not obtain all they desired, and her Majesty could wish them, the Blame was by no Means to be lain at her Door ; first, because, during the War, the Empire had very much neglected the Prosecution of it on that Side, and instead of 80,000 Men, which the Emperor was engaged to furnish, and 120,000 which, by the *Matricula* of the Empire, the whole Princes and States were obliged to bring upon the *Rhine*, *they never actually furnished*

30,000



30,000, and some Years not 20,000 Men, and those ill provided with Things necessary, and that only for two or three Months at the most in a Year, thereby leaving the Burden of the War to fall upon her Majesty and the States-General, in Flanders; the getting whose Money, by exorbitant Bargains for their Troops, they have all along seemed to have more at Heart, than the furnishing their Contingent to their own Army, as her Majesty and the States did every Year in vain exhort them; which if they had done, the War had in all Appearance been long since at an End, and they in Possession of that which is now perhaps impossible to obtain: And therefore it is their own Princes, the Circles, they have to thank, if they should fall short of their Expectations: But their Negligence in the War was not all; what has still put it more out her of Majesty's Power to serve them so effectually as she always desired, has been the Opposition they have made to her Measures in the Treaty of Peace, and that by insisting so stiffly, at the Beginning of the Treaty, upon the Demand of an Answer in Writing from the French Ministers, which, they were told, was not only in vain, and an endless Way of proceeding, but by adhering to which they would lose Time, and the only Opportunity of obtaining what they desired; and when afterwards a general Cessation of Arms was found necessary, and proposed to them by her Majesty, and they were told, that, if they would not enter into it, the Allies, being united in their Councils, might have

*obliged the Enemy to grant them any Thing they could reasonably have insisted on ; but they rejected that Proposal, and deserted her Majesty, to follow the chimerical Projects of Prince Eugene, which how fatal they have been to the common Cause the Event has sufficiently demonstrated, and it is to be feared they will more evidently appear, if they do not prevent another Campaign by reasonable Proposals of Peace. Her Majesty's Case was therefore very hard, that, when she was prosecuting the War, the Allies, some of them, acted with almost as much Coldness and Indifference, as if they had been in Peace, or, at least, had no Interest in the War ; and, when she found a Peace necessary, they should then only begin to think of War : And after all, when by this unaccountable Way of acting, they had brought themselves into inextricable Difficulties, they should cry out, that they were deserted, and endeavour to throw the Odium and Blame of it upon her : However, their Excellencies concluded, that her Majesty would still do for the four Circles, as well as the rest of her Allies, all that she was obliged to by Treaty, and what more they had by their Conduct left in her Power to do ; and that, in Relation to themselves, no good Offices and Endeavours should be wanting to support their Pretensions, and procure them all possible and reasonable Satisfaction.*

The Cessation of Arms being near expiring, it was again continued four Months, viz. from

from the 22d of *December*, until the 22d of *April*, 1713; N. S.

Her Majesty wrote a Letter to the *States-General*, in the Beginning of *January*, wherein she expressed great Satisfaction in that she had receiv'd from them on the 29th of the last Month, when they agreed to concur with her in all Measures: She told them this made some Amends for the Misfortunes that had been occasioned by the Disunion of the Allies, and would prevent those that were to be fear'd for the future. That she should take their Interests to Heart equally with her own; and be ready to do all that lay in her Power to advance them; but she was sorry she was not in a Condition to support both theirs, and those of the other Allies, as effectually as she could have done the last Spring.

The new Treaty of Barrier and Succession was sign'd by the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, and the *States*, the 30th of *January*, N. S. and sent over to *England* to be ratified. By this Treaty, the *States* engage to assist and defend the Succession of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, according to the Act of Settlement, against all Opposers; and her Majesty stipulated and agreed, that the *States* should garrison *Furnes*, *Fort Knock*, *Ipres*, *Menin*, the Town and Citadel of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*; the Town and Citadel of *Namure*, the Castle of *Ghent*, the Forts *La-perle*, *Philip*, and *Damme*, and *Fort St. Donat*; that the *Fort Rodenbugsen*, by *Ghent*, should be demolished: And that the

Revenues of those Towns which had been taken from *France* (over and above what was necessary for the Support of the Civil Government) should belong to the *States*, for the Maintenance of their Garrisons; and that at Million of Florins yearly, or 100,000 Crowns every three Months, should also be paid the *States*, out of the clearest and most certain Revenues of the *Spanish Low Countries*, which the late King *Charles* was in Possession of at the Time of his Death, towards the Expences of the other Garrisons.

And that the *English* and *Dutch* should be upon the same Foot, in Point of Trade, in the *Netherlands*.

That *England* should assist the *Dutch* with 10,000 Men, and 20 Men of War, in case they should be attacked; and the *States* should assist the *English* with 6000 Men, and 20 Men of War; and, if this should not be sufficient, they would assist each other with their whole Forces.

The Convention for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and Neutrality of *Italy*, being also agreed to, was signed the 14th of *March*, N. S. by the Ministers of the Emperor, *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Savoy*.

By this Treaty, as many of the *Catalans*, as pleased, were at Liberty to remove to *Italy* with their Effects; and, by the 8th Article, to all the Subjects and Inhabitants of *Catalonia*, and the Isles thereto belonging, Clergy and Laity, of whatever Rank soever, a general  
Am-



Amnesty, and perpetual Oblivion, was granted for all that had been done by them during this War; and upon that Account, in any Place or Manner whatsoever, against the Parties in War; insomuch that for these, and the like Causes, they should not in General, or in Particular, openly, or secretly, directly, or indirectly, by Way of Right, or Fact, be molested, or suffer any Damage or Injury, either in Person, or in Estate, Reputation and Security; but that all the Injuries, Violences, Hostilities, and Damages, caused as well during the War, as by Means thereof, by Word, Writing, or Action, should be entirely forgotten and abolished, without any Distinction of Persons, or Things; nor should any Trouble be given on these Accounts to the *Catalans*, and the Inhabitants and Subjects of the said Isles.

And her Majesty of *Great-Britain* also, by a subsequent Treaty, obtained for them, that *they should enjoy their ancient Privileges in their full Extent, and other Privileges with the rest of Spain, from which they had hitherto been excluded*; yet, says a certain Author, loud Outcries have been made (thro' Ignorance, I presume, I would not impute it altogether to Malice) as if her Majesty had abandoned these People, and sacrificed them to the Rage of their incensed Prince, without stipulating any Thing in their Behalf: Therefore, once for all, to confute this groundless and impudent Calumny, give me Leave here to recite, *Verbatim*, the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace,

between her *British* Majesty and King *Philip*, which was concluded at *Utrecht* the 2d of *July*, 1713, viz. *Whereas the Queen of Great-Britain has continually pressed and insisted with the greatest Earnestness, that all the Inhabitants of the Principality of Catalonia, of whatever State or Condition they may be, should not only obtain a full and perpetual Oblivion of all that was done in the late War, and enjoy the entire Possession of all their Estates and Honours; but should also have their ancient Privileges preserved safe and untoucked: The Catholic King, in Compliance with the said Queen of Great-Britain, hereby grants and confirms to all the Inhabitants of Catalonia, not only whatever the Amnesty desired, together with the full Possession of all their Estates and Honours, but also gives and grants to them all the Privileges which the Inhabitants of both Castiles, who of all the Spaniards are the most dear to the Catholic King, have and enjoy, or may hereafter have and enjoy.*

To proceed: The Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, having solemnly renounced all Right and Interest, which they or their Descendants had, or might hereafter by any Means have, or claim to the Crown of *Spain*; to which the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. *Prior*, her *British* Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, and the Duke *D'Ossuna*, Plenipotentiary of *Spain*, were Witnesses: The Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* declared to the Ministers of the Allies, that they were ready to sign the Peace, and on the 11th  
of

of *April*, 1713, N. S. the *British* Plenipotentiaries, having first delivered a Memorial to the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in Behalf of the *French* Protestants, they went to Count *Zinzendorff's*, the Emperor's Minister, and communicated to him the Plan of Peace they had agreed with *France*, for the Emperor and Empire (which his Imperial Majesty was to have Time to consider of till the 1st of *June*) and declared again, that they were going to sign the Peace between *Great-Britain* and *France*; they afterwards made the same Declaration to the Ministers of the rest of the Allies; and, being returned to the Lord Privy-Seal's House, the *French* Ambassadors came thither, and, about Two that Afternoon, the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France* were sign'd: The Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy* signed their Treaty with *France* next, and the same Day the Ministers of the King of *Portugal*, the King of *Prussia*, and the *States-General* signed their respective Treaties with *France*, of which Transactions, Expresses were immediately dispatch'd to their several Masters.

Two Days after the *States-General* ordered a public Thanksgiving to be observed for the Conclusion of the Peace, and returned their Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries Thanks for their good Conduct in the Negotiations of Peace.

The Imperial and *German* Ministers expressed great Resentment, that the Allies

should conclude a Peace, without their Consent, and pretend to prescribe Conditions to them: They gave out, that they would still carry on the War, and hazard all, rather than submit to such Usage.

To return to *England*: The Peace being concluded, the Parliament met at *Westminster* the 9th of *April*, O. S. when her Majesty made the following Speech to both Houses:

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ I Ended the last Session, with my hearty  
 ‘ Thanks for the solemn Assurances you  
 ‘ had given me, by which I have been ena-  
 ‘ bled to overcome the Difficulties contrived  
 ‘ to obstruct the general Peace.

‘ I have deferred Opening the Session  
 ‘ until now, being desirous to communicate  
 ‘ to you, at your first Meeting, the Success  
 ‘ of that important Affair: It is therefore  
 ‘ with great Pleasure I tell you the Treaty is  
 ‘ sign’d, and in a few Days the Ratifications  
 ‘ will be exchang’d.

‘ The Negotiation has been drawn into so  
 ‘ great a Length, that all our Allies had suf-  
 ‘ ficient Opportunity to adjust their several In-  
 ‘ terests: Though the Public Charge has been  
 ‘ thereby much increased, yet I hope my  
 ‘ People will be easy under it, since we have  
 ‘ happily obtained the End we propos’d.

‘ What I have done for securing the Prote-  
 ‘ stant Succession, and the perfect Friendship  
 ‘ there is between me and the House of *Ha-*  
 ‘ *nover*;



‘ *never*, may convince such who wish well to  
‘ both, and desire the Quiet and Safety of  
‘ their Country, how vain all Attempts are  
‘ to divide us ; and those who would make  
‘ a Merit, by separating our Interests, will ne-  
‘ ver attain their ill Ends.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

‘ As great a Progress has been made in re-  
‘ ducing the Public Expence as the Circum-  
‘ stances of Affairs would admit.

‘ What Force may be necessary for secu-  
‘ ring our Commerce by Sea, and for Guards  
‘ and Garrisons, I leave entirely to my Par-  
‘ liament.

‘ Make yourselves safe, and I shall be sa-  
‘ tisfied.

‘ Next to the Protection of the Divine Pro-  
‘ vidence, I depend upon the Affection and  
‘ Loyalty of my People.

‘ I want no other Guarantee.

‘ I recommend to your Care those brave  
‘ Men who have served well by Sea or Land,  
‘ this War, and cannot be employed in Time  
‘ of Peace.

‘ I must desire you to provide the Supplies  
‘ you shall judge requisite for your own Ease,  
‘ and the Public Service.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ The many Advantages, I have obtained  
‘ for my own Subjects, have occasioned much  
‘ Opposition and long Delay to this Peace.

‘ It

‘ It affords me great Satisfaction, that my  
 ‘ People will have it in their Power, by de-  
 ‘ grees, to repair what they have suffered du-  
 ‘ ring so long and burdensome a War.

‘ The easing our Foreign Trade, as far as is  
 ‘ consistent with National Credit, will deserve  
 ‘ your Care.

‘ And to think of proper Methods for im-  
 ‘ proving and encouraging our Home Trade  
 ‘ and Manufactures; particularly the Fishery,  
 ‘ which may be carried on to employ all our  
 ‘ spare Hands, and be a mighty Benefit, even  
 ‘ to the remotest Parts of this Kingdom.

‘ Several Matters were lain before you last  
 ‘ Session, which the Weight and Multiplicity  
 ‘ of other Business would not permit you to  
 ‘ perfect: I hope you will take a proper Op-  
 ‘ portunity to give them due Consideration.

‘ I cannot however but expressly mention  
 ‘ my Displeasure at the unparalleled Licentious-  
 ‘ ness, in publishing seditious and scandalous  
 ‘ Libels.

‘ The Impunity, such Practices has met  
 ‘ with, has encouraged the Blaspheming every  
 ‘ Thing sacred, and the Propagating Opinions  
 ‘ tending to the Overthrow of all Religion  
 ‘ and Government.

‘ Prosecutions have been ordered, but it  
 ‘ will require some new Law to put a Stop to  
 ‘ this growing Evil, and your best Endeavours  
 ‘ in your respective Stations to discourage it.

‘ The impious Practice of Dueling re-  
 ‘ quires some speedy and effectual Remedy.

‘ Now

‘ Now we are entering upon Peace A-  
‘ broad, let me conjure you all, to use your ut-  
‘ most Endeavours for calming Men’s Minds  
‘ at Home, that the Arts of Peace may be  
‘ cultivated.

‘ Let not groundless Jealousies, contrived  
‘ by a Faction, and fomented by Party Rage,  
‘ effect that which our Foreign Enemies could  
‘ not.

‘ I pray God to direct all your Consulta-  
‘ tions, for his Glory, and the Welfare of my  
‘ People.’

In Answer to which the Peers, on the 10th  
of *April*, attended her Majesty with the fol-  
lowing Address, *viz.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ **W**E your Majesty’s most dutiful and  
‘ loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual  
‘ and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do,  
‘ with the greatest Joy and Satisfaction, return  
‘ our humble Thanks to your Majesty, for  
‘ your most gracious Speech from the Throne,  
‘ and for communicating to your Parliament,  
‘ that a Peace is concluded; by which we  
‘ hope, with the Blessing of God, that your  
‘ People will in a few Years recover them-  
‘ selves, after so long and expensive a War;  
‘ and also do congratulate your Majesty upon  
‘ the Success of your Endeavours for a gene-  
‘ ral Peace.

‘ We never had the least Doubt, but that  
‘ your Majesty, who is the great Support and  
‘ Orna-

‘ Ornament of the *Protestant* Religion, would  
 ‘ continue to take, as you have always done,  
 ‘ the wisest Measures for securing the *Prote-*  
 ‘ *stant* Succession, towards which nothing can  
 ‘ be more necessary than the perfect Friendship  
 ‘ there is between your Majesty and the  
 ‘ House of *Hanover*.

‘ And we do humbly assure your Majesty,  
 ‘ that as you express your Dependance to be,  
 ‘ next under God, upon the Duty and Affec-  
 ‘ tion of your People, we think ourselves  
 ‘ bound, by the strictest Ties of Religion,  
 ‘ Loyalty, and Gratitude, to make all the du-  
 ‘ tiful Returns, that can be paid by the most  
 ‘ obedient Subjects, to the most indulgent So-  
 ‘ vereign.’

*Her Majesty's Answer.*

*My Lords,*

‘ I Do most heartily thank you for this  
 ‘ Address, and be assured that I take par-  
 ‘ ticular Satisfaction, that you so kindly ex-  
 ‘ press the Confidence you have in me.’

On the 11th of *April*, the Commons also  
 attended her Majesty with the following Ad-  
 dress, viz.

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ WE your Majesty's most dutiful and  
 ‘ loyal Subjects, the Commons of  
 ‘ *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, beg  
 ‘ Leave with all Humility to approach your  
 ‘ Royal Person with our unanimous Acknow-  
 ‘ ledgements,



‘ ledgements, for all the Benefits we enjoy under your Majesty’s most auspicious Reign.

‘ The many and great Successes, which have attended your Majesty’s Arms, had left nothing to be wish’d, but such a Peace as might be conducted by your Councils, which now we have the Happiness to see accomplished; and as we are truly sensible of your Majesty’s gracious and generous Intentions in undertaking that great Work; so we have all possible Reason to admire your Steadiness in carrying it on, and overcoming the many Difficulties contrived to obstruct it. And it is with the highest Satisfaction we congratulate your Majesty, upon the happy Conclusion of this Treaty; for we are so much convinced of your Majesty’s tender Regard to the Public Welfare, and the many Instances of your Wisdom have taught us to have so perfect a Reliance upon it, that we cannot doubt but your Majesty hath procured all reasonable Satisfaction for your Allies, and established the Interest of your Kingdoms in such a Manner, as to make us not only secure for the future, but a flourishing and happy People.

‘ Your Majesty can give no higher Proof of the Care you take of Posterity, than by the Concern you are pleased to express for the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, upon which the future Happiness of this Kingdom so much depends: We hope and trust that nothing will be ever able to inter-

‘ rupt

‘ rupt the Friendship between your Majesty  
‘ and that illustrious Family ; since the wick-  
‘ ed Designs of those, who would endeavour  
‘ to separate your Interests, must be too plain  
‘ ever to succeed.

‘ Your faithful Commons can never enough  
‘ express the grateful Sense they have of the  
‘ many gracious Assurances contained in your  
‘ Majesty’s Speech ; and after what your Ma-  
‘ jesty hath done to ease your Subjects of the  
‘ heavy Burden, which before lay upon them ;  
‘ and after your unparalleled Goodness, in de-  
‘ manding nothing from them for the Time to  
‘ come, but what they themselves shall judge  
‘ requisite for their own Safety ; the best Re-  
‘ turn, they can make, will be a ready and du-  
‘ tiful Compliance with every Thing you  
‘ have been pleased to recommend to them,  
‘ and they cannot fail most chearfully to set  
‘ about providing the Supplies necessary for  
‘ this Year’s Service. Your Majesty’s repeat-  
‘ ed Condescensions must, in the strongest  
‘ Manner, engage the Hearts and Affections of  
‘ all your Subjects to your Majesty ; and we  
‘ are satisfied we cannot more truly represent  
‘ them, than by contributing our utmost En-  
‘ deavours to make your Reign as prosperous,  
‘ glorious, and easy to yourself, as it is bene-  
‘ ficial and happy to your People.’

*The Queen's Answer.*

*Gentlemen,*

‘THIS Address cannot but be very agreeable to me, as it comes from my loyal Commons, and as it is a Continuation of those Expressions of Duty and Affection, which you have shewn through this whole Parliament.’

The Peace being concluded between *France* and the Allies, except the Emperor and the Empire; I shall here give an Abstract of the most material Articles in the several Treaties, passing by only Matters of Form, and such other Particulars as have no Relation to *Great-Britain*.

By the 4th Article of the Treaty between *Great-Britain* and *France*, the *French* King acknowledges and approves the Act of Limitation of the Succession to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*; and on the Faith and Word of a King, and on the Pledge of his own and his Successors Honour, he does declare and engage, that no one, besides the Queen herself, and her Successors, according to the Series of the said Limitation, shall ever by him, or by his Heirs or Successors, be acknowledged or reputed to be King, or Queen of *Great-Britain*: And whereas the *Pretender* was lately gone, of his own Accord, out of the Kingdom of *France*, the said most *Christian* King, for himself, his Heirs, and Successors, promises to take all possible Care that he shall not at any Time hereafter, or under any Pre-  
tence

tence whatever, return into the Kingdom of *France*, or any the Dominions thereof.

And, by the 5th Article, he in like Manner engages not to disturb or molest her Majesty, her Heirs, or Successors, in the *Protestant* Line; and that he will not give any Succour, or Aid, to any that shall endeavour to oppose the said Succession.

In the 6th Article, the King of *Spain's* Renunciation of the Crown of *France*, and the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, their Renunciations of the Crown of *Spain*, with the *French* King's Letters Patents, admitting and confirming the said Renunciations, being insisted upon, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the most *Christian* King, engage to each other solemnly, and on their Royal Words, that nothing ever shall be done by them, or their Heirs and Successors, or be allowed to be done by others, whereby the said Renunciations and the other Transactions afore-mentioned, may not have their full Effect: But, on the contrary, their Royal Majesties, with joint Councils and Forces, will always sincerely take that Care, and use those Endeavours, that the said Foundations of the public Safety (*viz.* the Separation of the *French* and *Spanish* Crowns) may remain unshaken, and be preserved untouched for ever.

By the 7th, that there shall be a free Use of Navigation and Commerce, as heretofore in Time of Peace, and before the Declaration of the late War.

By



By the 9th, the most *Christian King* promises to demolish the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, at his own Expence, within five Months after the Conclusion of Peace.

By the 10th, the most *Christian King* obliges himself to restore, to *Great-Britain* the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, with the Lands, Seas, Sea-coasts, Rivers, and Places situate in the said Bay or Streights, with the Fortresses there erected, in the Condition they now are, and also all the Cannon, and Cannon-Ball therein, with a proportionable Quantity of Powder, and other Provision of War, usually belonging to Cannon, provided that the Subjects of *France* have Liberty to remove themselves and their other Effects; and Commissaries on the Part of *Britain* and *France* shall determine, within a Year, the Limits to be fix'd between the said Bay of *Hudson*, and the Places appertaining to the *French*, which Limits both the *British* and *French* Subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby go to each other by Sea or Land; and the same Commissaries shall also settle the Boundaries between the other *British* and *French* Colonies in those Parts.

By the 11th, Satisfaction shall be given to the *English* Company, trading to *Hudson's* Bay, for all Depredations of the *French* in Time of Peace; and Satisfaction shall also be given to the *French* for any Damage done them by the *British* Subjects in Time of Peace.

By the 12th, the Island of *St. Christopher's*, *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadie*, *Port-Royal*, or *Anapolis Royal*, with their Lands and Dependencies, are entirely yielded and made over to *Great-Britain*, in such ample Manner, that the Subjects of *France* shall hereafter be excluded from all Kinds of Fishing in the said Seas, Bays, and other Places on the Coast of *Nova Scotia*; that is to say, on those which lie towards the *East*, within thirty Leagues, beginning from the Island commonly called *Sable*, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the *South-West*.

By the 13th, the Island of *Newfoundland*, with the adjacent Islands, shall belong of Right wholly to *Britain*; but the Subjects of *France* shall be allowed to catch Fish, and dry them on the Land, in that Part only of the said Island, and no other, which stretches from the Place called *Cape Bonavista*, to the *Northern* Point of the said Island, and, from thence running down by the *Western* Side, reaches as far the Place called *Point Rube*; but the *French* shall not fortify any Place in *Newfoundland*, or erect any Buildings there, besides Stages made of Boards, and Huts necessary and usual for Drying of Fish, or resort to the said Island beyond the Time necessary for Fishing and Drying of Fish; but the Island called *Cape Breton*, and others in the Mouth of the River *St. Laurence*, and in the Gulph of that Name, shall belong to the *French*, who may fortify any Places there.

By

By the 14th, the Subjects of *France* are to have the Space of a Year to remove themselves and their Effects, from the Places and Colonies yielded by *France*; but those who chuse to remain, and be subject to *Great-Britain*, may enjoy the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, as far as the Laws of *Great-Britain* allow the same.

By the 15th, the *French* inhabiting *Canada*, and other Countries in *America*, shall give no Disturbance to the five Nations of *Indians*, subject to *Britain*, or to the other Natives of *America*, their Friends; and the *British* Subjects shall behave themselves peaceably towards the *Americans*, who are Subjects or Friends of *France*; and there shall be a free Intercourse of Trade between the *French* and *English*, and the Natives of those Countries; and it shall be settled by Commissaries, who are, and who ought to be accounted the Subjects and Friends of *Britain*, or of *France*.

By the 20th, just and reasonable Satisfaction shall be given to all and singular the Allies of *Great-Britain*, in those Matters which they have a Right to demand of *France*.

By the 21st, the *French* King agrees, that, in the Treaty with the Emperor and Empire, the State of Religion shall be settled in the Empire, conformably to the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

By the 22d, Satisfaction shall be given to the Family of *Hamilton*, the Duke of *Richmond*,

and *Charles Douglas*, as to their several Demands in *France*.

By the 24th, the Treaty between *France* and *Portugal* is confirm'd, and her *British* Majesty takes upon her the Guarantee of the same.

By the 25th, the same is done as to the Treaty between *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*.

By the 26th, the King of *Sweden*, the Duke of *Tuscany*, the Republic of *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Parma*, are included in this Treaty.

By the 27th, the *Hanse Towns* are also comprehended in the Treaty and are to enjoy the ancient Advantages they had in Point of Trade.

Her Majesty took, in every Point, Care of the Interest of her Allies; and, if they had any Complaints to make, they were visibly owing to their own Obstinacy: Nay, even the *Catalans*, whose after Sufferings were imputed to the Ingratitude and Desertion of the *English*. They were not only indemnified for what was past, but her Majesty also procured for them the Privileges of the *Castilians*, &c. as is evident from the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, between her Majesty and *Philip* King of *Spain*, the 2d of *July*, 1713, as shewn p. 426.

Consequently, their Misfortunes are more justly to be attributed to their own Obstinacy, than to any Want of Justice and Tenderneſs in the *English*.

Every



Every one, who is acquainted with the Histories of those Times, must acknowledge that *England* bore a much greater Share of the Expence of the War, than she was obliged to, and *Holland* fell always short of her *Quota*, though she had at the same Time the Advantage of carrying on a Trade to *France*; wherefore it is nothing surprising, that, while we were conquering Towns for the *Dutch*, at the Expence of *English* Blood and Treasure, they should be willing to protract it, and we desirous to see an End put to so destructive a War, by a safe, just, and honourable Peace, which her Majesty was then thought to have procured, however it has been since exploded: Whether justly, or not, I am not here to examine; I shall only say, that the Queen had the Concurrence of her People in what she did, to whom she had the Condescension to communicate the Terms on which Peace might be had before its Conclusion; and that they thankfully acknowledged what she had done, as appears in the two following Addresses. That of the Commons is in the following Words:

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, beg Leave most humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's great Condescension in communicating

communicating to us the Terms upon which a general Peace may be made.

Our Hearts are full of Gratitude for what your Majesty has already done; and we want Words to express the Satisfaction, with which we have received all that your Majesty hath been pleased to impart to your Commons.

We have an entire Confidence in your Majesty, that you will steadily pursue the true Interest of your Kingdoms, and that you will endeavour to procure for all your Allies what is due to them by Treaties, and what is necessary for their Security.

These Assurances are the least which your faithful Commons can make, to so much Condescension and Goodness; and they humbly desire your Majesty that you will please to proceed in the present Negotiations, for the obtaining a speedy Peace.

That of the Lords was in the following Terms :

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our humble Thanks for your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, and for your Majesty's extraordinary Condescension, in communicating to your Parliament the Terms upon which a general Peace may be made; and we cannot  
but

‘ but express our entire Satisfaction in your  
 ‘ Majesty’s great Care, for securing the *Pro-*  
 ‘ *testant* Succession in the House of *Hanover* ;  
 ‘ and for your Majesty’s steadily pursuing, in  
 ‘ the first Place, the true Interest of your  
 ‘ own Kingdoms ; and for endeavouring  
 ‘ to procure to your Allies what is due to  
 ‘ them by Treaties, and what is necessary  
 ‘ for their Safety : And we do with all Hu-  
 ‘ mility assure your Majesty, *That this House*  
 ‘ *doth entirely rely on your Majesty’s Wisdom to*  
 ‘ *finish this great and good Work.*’

When her Majesty acquainted her Parlia-  
 ment, in 1713, with the Treaty of Peace being  
 signed, she receiv’d their Thanks and Congra-  
 tulations, as we have seen, p. 431, 432, 433,  
 434.

That the Representatives of the People  
 spoke the Sense of their Constituents was  
 evinced by their Acclamations, and private,  
 as well as public, Rejoicings, on the Peace  
 being proclaimed between *Great-Britain*  
 and *France* ; which was on the 5th of *May*,  
 1713, in *London*, and, at every Market-  
 Town, the neighbouring Villages assem-  
 bled to assist in proclaiming this great and  
 happy Event.

On the 9th of *May*, her Majesty communi-  
 cated the several Treaties of Peace and Com-  
 merce, between *Great-Britain* and *France*, to  
 the House of Commons.

The Treaty of Commerce was, in a great  
 Measure, left to be perfected by the Parlia-

ment of *Great-Britain*, it being requisite to repeal and alter several Laws, before the same could take Effect. And, it having been found by Experience, as well after the Peace concluded by King *William*, as in the present Treaty, that a Trade with *France* could never be of any real Advantage to these Kingdoms, the Treaty of Commerce was never fully settled. But, notwithstanding the Bill for making effectual certain Articles in the Treaty of Commerce did not pass, the Commons attended her Majesty with the following Address:

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, having, at the Opening of this Session, congratulated your Majesty upon the Conclusion of a happy Peace, find ourselves now under equal Obligations of Duty to express our Thankfulness to your Majesty, since we have been acquainted with the Conditions and Terms of it, which by your great Wisdom have been procured, and by your great Condescension have been communicated to us. Your Majesty's extensive Care hath not only provided for the Security, but the Honour of your Kingdoms; and we should be wanting in our Concern for both, if we should omit our just Acknowledgements for the particular Regards, which your Majesty in this,

as



as well as in other Instances, hath shewn to them.

The good Foundation your Majesty hath lain, for the Interest of your People in Trade, by what you have done in the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with *France*, gives us Hopes of seeing it yet further improved, to the Advantage of your Kingdoms; and we make it our humble Request to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to appoint Commissioners, to treat with those of *France*, for the adjusting such Matters as are still necessary to be settled: And that you will give such Orders for the perfecting of the said Treaty, and the explaining the several Parts of it, that an entire Scheme of Trade may be framed between *Great-Britain* and *France*, which may fully answer and make effectual your Majesty's gracious Intentions for the Good and Welfare of your People.'

As a farther Evidence of the general Sense of the People, I shall give the joint Address of the Lords and the new House of Commons on the Parliament Meeting, *February* the 16th.

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to express the just Sense which we have of your Majesty's Goodness to your People, *in delivering them by a safe, honourable,*

‘ ble, and advantageous Peace with France and  
 ‘ Spain, from the heavy Burden of a consu-  
 ‘ ming Land War, unequally carried on, and  
 ‘ become at last impracticable.

‘ And we do most earnestly intreat your  
 ‘ Majesty, that you will be pleased, with the  
 ‘ same Steadiness, notwithstanding all the Ob-  
 ‘ structions which have been, or may be  
 ‘ thrown in in your Way, to pursue such Mat-  
 ‘ ters as you shall think necessary for com-  
 ‘ pleting the Settlement of *Europe*, on the  
 ‘ Principles lain down to your Majesty, in  
 ‘ your most gracious Speech from the Throne.’

I have been thus particular, with Relation  
 to the Sentiments of the People in general  
 on this Peace, that the Reader may be the bet-  
 ter able to judge, when they have the Sequel  
 of his Grace’s Conduct in this very Affair,  
 whether his Grace by obeying the positive  
 Orders of his Sovereign, so universally applau-  
 ded, merited the Return he met with from  
 the new Ministry in the ensuing Reign: For  
 my Part I shall determine on neither Side, but  
 proceed to his Conduct, when at the Head of  
 the *British* Forces in *Flanders*, and shew that  
 he took not one Step, without Direction of  
 the Court of *England*, or which, when his Or-  
 ders were discretionary, was not afterwards  
 approv’d of, as tending to the Honour and Ad-  
 vantage of his Country; to do this I must be  
 obliged to recite some Particulars, which I have  
 before taken Notice of in a summary Way.

After.

After his Grace was appointed Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders*, he received the following Instructions :

ANNE R.

*Instructions for our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin, and Counsellor, James Duke of Ormonde, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of our Forces, acting in Conjunction with those of our Allies in the Low-Countries.*

You are with all possible Diligence to repair to the *Hague*, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that, having appointed you to command our Army in the *Netherlands*, we have given you Orders to see him, before you go to put your self at the Head of the Troops. You are to express to him the Resolution we are in of pushing the War with all possible Vigour, until the Enemy shall agree to such Terms of Peace, as may be safe and honourable for us, and for our Allies.

You are further to say to this Minister, that you are prepared to live in a good Correspondence with all the Generals of the Allies, and particularly with those of the *States*; and that you hope you shall find the same Inclination on their Part, to which his (the Pensionary's) good Offices will extremely contribute.

You are, after this Introduction, to desire the Pensionary to inform you what Plan has been agreed upon, for the Operation of the Campaign.

As

As soon as you arrive at the Frontier, you are to meet with the Prince *Eugene*, and such others of the Generals as shall be in the Secret, and with them to concert the proper Measures for entering on Action.

You are to take the first and every Opportunity of reviewing all such Regiments, as are paid either in the Whole, or in Part, by us, and to certify to us the Numbers, and Condition, of the several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons.

You are likewise, from Time to Time, to *correspond* with one of our Principal Secretaries of State, and to *transmit* constant Accounts of your Proceedings, and of all Occurrences which may happen.

*Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of April, 1712, in the eleventh Year of our Reign.*

His Grace, being arrived at the *Hague*, made a Visit to the *Pensionary*, according to his Instructions ; but, when he enquired what Plan had been agreed upon for the Operations of the Campaign, that Minister referr'd him to their Generals, and Deputies, as the fittest Judges of what was to be done, when they were in the Field.

On the 28th of *April*, N. S. his Grace had a Conference upon the same Subject with the Deputies of the *States*, who also referr'd him, as the *Pensionary* had done, to their Field Deputies.

About



About the same Time the Duke receiv'd a Letter, from Mr. *Cadogan*, who had been left out of the Establishment of *Lieutenant-Generals*, desiring with great Earnestness his Grace's Interest for his being employed under him the Campaign. The Duke being very willing that so experienc'd an Officer should be near him, and by that Means a Witness to all his Actions, readily complied with his Request, and soon obtained the Queen's Leave for his serving in that Post: And his Grace was the more earnest in requiring this Favour of her Majesty, as he was thoroughly sensible, that the then Opposers of the Government design'd him as a Spy upon his Actions.

On the 3d of *May*, N. S. his Grace arriv'd at *Ghent*, and, having secured the Government of that Citadel in *English* Hands, proceeded to *Tournay*, where he met Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States*: The *English* Forces had some Weeks before taken the Field, and were canton'd along the Road between *Tournay* and *Lisle*. On the 17th, Prince *Eugene* and Monsieur *Vegelin* made a Visit to his Grace, and it was then agreed between them to pass the *Scheld*, near *Bouchain*, in order to encamp at *Avesne Le Secque*, and see whether the Confederates could attack the Enemy, without great Disadvantage; or, should the Enemy be too strongly posted, it was propos'd to invest *Quesnoy*, which, being a little Place, could not hold out above three Weeks, at most, after the Opening of the Trenches. In order  
to

to these Motions, the Proportion of the two Armies, to be commanded by the Prince and the Duke, was fully adjusted. The Duke was to have under him seventy Battalions, and a hundred and thirty-eight Squadrons, which Forces were some of them paid by her Majesty, and others by her and the *States* jointly.

The Command being thus settled, the necessary Directions were given for assembling all the Troops; passing the *Scarpe*, and forming the two Armies, on the 21st, between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*, where the Prince and the Duke designed to join their respective Forces, and there concert such farther Measures, as might be requisite for carrying on the Service of the Campaign.

Some Days, before, the Duke of *Ormonde* had receiv'd two Expresses from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who was afterwards created Lord Viscount *Bollingbroke*. In his Letter the 16th of *April*, he tells his Grace, ' That he found by  
' very certain Intelligences, from *Holland*, that  
' the *Dutch* Ministers were not without their  
' Fears of their new General; that they began  
' to consider he was a Papist, and a *German*, at  
' least in Interest; that the Emperor, his Master, had nothing to lose on the Side of the  
' *Netherlands*; that a Battle won might give  
' Ground for insisting on higher Terms, than  
' the House of *Austria* was now likely to  
' obtain; that a Battle lost might still contribute to prolong the War; and that, in either  
' Case, the Expence of Blood would fall to  
' the

‘ the Share of the Queen and the *States* :  
 ‘ That he was of Opinion, that these Reflec-  
 ‘ tions had occasioned private Directions to  
 ‘ their Generals to use more Caution, than  
 ‘ the Prince would perhaps approve; and that  
 ‘ his Grace might see that this Measure was  
 ‘ not very consistent with the Compliment of  
 ‘ an unlimited Command, made to that Prince  
 ‘ by Mr. *Lathmer* in the Name of the  
 ‘ *States*.’

In that of the 25th of *April*, Mr. Secre-  
 tary acquaints the Duke, that her Maje-  
 sty was desirous to know particularly, on  
 what Foot the *Dutch* had settled the Com-  
 mand : ‘ That her Majesty inclined to be of  
 ‘ Opinion, that all the Troops, whether Sub-  
 ‘ jects, or Foreigners, belonging to her, should  
 ‘ be under his Grace’s Command : There  
 ‘ might have been formerly Reasons for using  
 ‘ a different Method, but there seem’d to be  
 ‘ at present some of a very strong Nature, for  
 ‘ taking this, and, perhaps, these might every  
 ‘ Day grow stronger ; that there could be no  
 ‘ Need for him to enter into the Grounds  
 ‘ which they had, in this Conjunction, to be  
 ‘ jealous of Prince *Eugene*’s Conduct ; his  
 ‘ Grace would see and know them all better,  
 ‘ than they could be repeated : But that on  
 ‘ this Occasion the Queen directed him to in-  
 ‘ form his Grace, that she thought he was to  
 ‘ be the more cautious, for some Time, of en-  
 ‘ gaging in any Action, unless in the Case of a  
 ‘ very apparent and considerable Advantage,  
 ‘ because

‘ because he would be daily strengthen’d by  
 ‘ the Arrival of the Imperial Troops; and it  
 ‘ was but just these should have their Part, if  
 ‘ any Thing of that Kind was to happen :  
 ‘ That the great Article of preventing the U-  
 ‘ nion of the two Monarchies was not yet en-  
 ‘ tirely settled ; the Expedients were hard of  
 ‘ Digestion to the *French* Stomachs ; but, if  
 ‘ this was got over, he did not see any formi-  
 ‘ dable Difficulty in the Way’.

His Grace on the 9th of *May* had written to the Secretary, and given him an Account of what the *Dutch* had done, in regard to the Point of Command : Now, in Answer to these Dispatches, his Grace repeated the Substance of that Advice; and then told Mr. Secretary,  
 ‘ He was entirely of his Opinion, that a Battle,  
 ‘ either lost or won, would at this Time make  
 ‘ very great Alterations in the Treaties now  
 ‘ on Foot ; but the Secretary might remember,  
 ‘ that, in his Instructions, he was order’d to act  
 ‘ in Conjunction with the Allies, in *prosecu-*  
 ‘ *ting the War with Vigour*; so that, should  
 ‘ there happen a fair Opportunity to attack  
 ‘ the Enemy, he could not decline it, if pro-  
 ‘ posed by the Prince and the *States*; but he  
 ‘ hoped to hear from him by a Messenger, be-  
 ‘ fore the Armies were form’d, which  
 ‘ would be on the 21st.’ The Duke added, in a second Letter of *May* the 20th, ‘ That,  
 ‘ if there was a good Opportunity to attack  
 ‘ the Enemy, and get into *France* by the Way  
 ‘ of *Champagne*, he was sure the Prince and  
 ‘ the



‘ the *States* would press it, unless they heard  
 ‘ from *England* that the Peace was near being  
 ‘ concluded : That he wish’d it very heartily ;  
 ‘ but, if it were delayed, he hoped he should  
 ‘ have the good Fortune to force the *French*  
 ‘ to comply with the Queen’s Demands.’

The Armies having marched on, the Day appointed, his Grace took his Quarters at *Marchiennes* ; where in Concert with the Prince, and the Foreign Generals, he resolved to go on nearer to the Enemy : And it was accordingly agreed, that the two Armies should march on the 26th, pass the *Scheld*, and encamp ; the Right of Prince *Eugene*’s Army at *Neuveville*, and the Left of the Duke of *Ormonde*’s at *Solème*, where we had the River *Selle* in our Rear ; and, in order to preserve a Communication with the Places on the *Scarpe*, the Troops were employed for some Days in repairing the old *French* Lines between *Dencain* and *Walers*, and drawing another parallel to them from our Bridges on the *Scheld* to *Beaurepair* ; in both which a sufficient Body of Troops was to be left, to secure the Convoys of Provisions, as well from the Enemies Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé*, as from their Army.

In the Evening of the 24th, an Express arrived from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who in a Letter dated *May* the 10th acquainted the Duke, ‘ That since her Majesty had Reason to  
 ‘ believe, that she should come to an Agreement  
 ‘ upon the great Article of preventing the U-  
 ‘ nion of the two Monarchies, as soon as a

Courier sent from *Versailles* to *Madrid* could return, it was her Majesty's *positive Command*, that he should avoid engaging in any Siege, or hazarding a Battle, till he received farther Orders from England. The Secretary acquainted his Grace likewise, that the Queen would have him disguise the Receipt of this Order, and that her Majesty thought he could not want Pretences for conducting himself, so as to answer her Ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill Effect, if it was publicly known. That she could not think with Patience of sacrificing Men, when there was a fair Prospect of obtaining her Purpose another Way; nor would she suffer herself to be exposed to the Reproach of having retarded, by the Events of the Campaign, a Negotiation which might have been as good as concluded within a few Days. He added, that this Order was communicated at the same Time to the Court of *France*; so that, if the *Mareschal de Villars* should take any private Notice of it, the Duke was to answer accordingly.

As the 26th was fix'd upon for the March, had his Grace ever so fair a Pretence, he could not put it off for want of Forage: His Grace was now under a very great Difficulty; Prince *Eugene* and the Field Deputies press'd very warmly for the undertaking a Siege, if the Engaging the Enemy was found improper, and he could neither do the one, nor the other, without disobeying the positive Commands of her

her Majesty ; to which he was resolved to pay a punctual Obedience, though he knew not well what Excuse to make for any farther Delays, which consisted with the Secrecy enjoined him.

The Night before the Duke left *Marchiennes*, he received a Letter from Mareschal *Villars*, in which the Mareschal says, ‘ He has Orders from his Master, with the Consent of the Queen, to acquaint him that they were no longer Enemies ; and that it was the King’s particular Injunction to him [the Mareschal] to keep this Matter with an inviolable Secrecy.’

The Duke, according to the Intimation given him by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, answered, ‘ That he had received Orders on that Subject from the Queen, and should be sure to conform himself punctually to them ; but the keeping the Secret enjoined would very much depend on the Measures the Mareschal himself should take.’ The Duke, on his Part, let him know, that the March, he should be obliged to make, was chiefly for the Subsistence of the Troops, and that the Mareschal need not be under any Apprehension on that Account ; at least the Duke would answer for the Army, which he had the Honour to command.

Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies waited on his Grace on the 27th, desiring him to send his Quarter-Masters to view the *French* Camp ; which he could not excuse do-

ing, without affording Grounds for Suspicion. The Day following, the Detachment sent to view the Enemy's Camp being returned, the Prince, with the said Deputies, dined with his Grace, and laid before him the Report of those who had been sent out, that the Ground for attacking the Enemy was as advantageous as could be desired, and therefore urged their immediate March to that End : The Duke's Quarter-Masters and many General Officers having made him the same Report, he was convinced that what was proposed was very practicable ; but, as it was contrary to the Queen's Commands, he desired they would defer this or any other Undertaking, till he should receive fresh Advices from *England*, which he expected in four or five Days ; a Delay which could not be attended with any ill Consequence. Upon this Answer, they replied, ' That it was agreeable  
' to the Suspicions they had for some Time  
' entertained, particularly since the Express of  
' the 24th, which they knew had brought  
' him Letters from *England* ; and they were  
' the more confirm'd in these Suspicions, be-  
' cause Monsieur *Villars*, who had, on all Oc-  
' casions, shewn himself very vigilant, did not  
' send out a Man to observe their Motions ;  
' or take any other Precautions to secure his  
' Camp, where it lay so much exposed ; and he  
' could not be ignorant, how strong a Detach-  
' ment had been Abroad on that Side. Adding,  
' that they were obliged to give an Account of  
[ what



‘ what had pass’d, and of the Delays made  
‘ by the Duke, to their Masters, by Express.’

In this Situation, any brave and good-natur’d Man, as these Ornaments of the Mind are commonly inseparable, must pity the Duke : On the one Hand, notwithstanding the Character of his personal Bravery was beyond the Reach of the most malevolent Censures, yet he could not but be anxious for his own Glory ; he could not deny, but that a very favourable Opportunity presented for attacking the Enemy with Success, and must necessarily foresee, that, in case the Negotiations should break off, or the *French* deceive the Confidence reposed in them, whatever ill Consequence must attend the having neglected to take Advantage of the Enemies then Situation would be charged to his Account : On the other Hand, should he have joined with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States*, and attacked the *French*, he must have first disobeyed her Majesty’s positive Commands, which might have been attended with fatal Consequences, and have contributed to the protracting a War, which, however advantageous to her Allies, while *England* bore by much the greater Burden of the Expence, was visibly destructive to her Interest.

On the 4th of *June*, two of the Deputies made a Visit to the Duke ; and in the Evening sent him a Memorial, in which they represented, that, by Order of their Masters, they were to acquaint him, with how great

a Degree of Surprize the *States* had receiv'd the News of his declaring he would undertake nothing, till he had Letters from *England*, ' and of his refusing to assist either ' in a Siege or a Battle; that it seemed to them ' incomprehensible, and unaccountable, why ' the Allies should lose such an apparent Opportunity which they then had, as well in Regard ' to the Goodness and Number of their Troops, ' as the Situation of the Armies, to gain some ' great Advantage over the Enemy, which, if ' once neglected, might for ever be irretrievable: That they could by no Means conceive his Orders were so strict, as to tie up ' his Hands, when so fair an Occasion of ' annoying the Enemy presented itself; and ' that in their Opinion such Orders ought to ' be understood in the best Sense, so as to ' injoin the declining any Attempt for some ' little Time, provided no great Prejudice ' might redound by that Means to the common Cause; but in no Ways to justify the ' Sitting still with their Arms across, in such a ' Situation, where Inaction would cut off all ' Hopes of their being able to attempt any ' Thing for the future: Since, if the Army ' continued inactive for any Time, the Forage ' would be consumed, and the Operations of ' the rest of the Campaign would be rendered not only difficult, but impracticable. Besides, the Enemy would have Time to ' entrench and fortify their Camp, as much ' as they pleased. That the *States* had ' ordered

' ordered them to enforce these Arguments  
 ' with others, and particularly with this, that  
 ' the Army, his Grace commanded, consisted  
 ' not only of her Majesty's national Troops,  
 ' but for the most Part of such as were in the  
 ' joint Pay of her Majesty and the *States*, the  
 ' Command of which indeed belonged to his  
 ' Grace, as General in Chief; but as those  
 ' Troops were engaged, by both Powers joint-  
 ' ly, to make War and act against the Ene-  
 ' my, they could not be exempted from that  
 ' Service by his Grace alone, without the  
 ' Knowledge and Consent of the *States*; at  
 ' least without contradicting the Treaties, and  
 ' the End by and for which they were en-  
 ' gaged: That not only the Treaty of the  
 ' *Grand Alliance*, but others made between  
 ' her Majesty and the *States*, obliged her Ma-  
 ' jesty to push on the War with Vigour; but  
 ' the Declaration his Grace made, that he  
 ' could not act till further Orders, at a Time,  
 ' when, by his Grace's own Approbation,  
 ' they had marched just within Sight of  
 ' the Enemy, and when there was so fair  
 ' a Prospect of Success, if something were  
 ' attempted, could not, they thought, be  
 ' reconciled either with those Treaties, or the  
 ' repeated Assurances which her Majesty had  
 ' given them by Letters, by my Lord *Strafford*,  
 ' and by his Grace lately at the *Hague*. There-  
 ' fore they desired his Grace, if he had any  
 ' Regard to those Treaties and Assurances,  
 ' which ought to be kept sacred, to push on

‘ the War with Vigour offensively against the  
‘ Enemy : But that, if his Grace persisted in  
‘ his Resolution of not acting offensively,  
‘ they desired to know whether he would con-  
‘ sent, that the Troops under him might be  
‘ employed to cover a Siege, which they  
‘ would undertake ; and whether he would  
‘ give a Promise to attack the Enemy, if they  
‘ came to disturb them : That, in case his  
‘ Grace refused, they did in the most solemn  
‘ Manner, and in the strongest Terms, pro-  
‘ test against the irreparable Damage, which  
‘ such a Conduct would occasion to the Con-  
‘ federacy : That, in order the better to guide  
‘ themselves, they demanded to know posi-  
‘ tively what his Orders were, how far they  
‘ reached, and what Dependence the *States*  
‘ might have on her Majesty’s Troops for the  
‘ future ; and lastly, they required, on their  
‘ Part, that his Grace would not hinder the  
‘ Troops in the joint Pay from acting agreea-  
‘ bly to the Reason of War, and their solemn  
‘ Treaties and Engagements.’ The Conclusion  
of the Memorial was, that the *States* had  
ordered this Representation to be made in  
Writing to his Grace, that all the World and  
Posterity might see, that they have been so  
far from being guilty of the great Injury,  
which the common Cause receives from the  
present Inaction, that they have done all in  
their Power to prevent it, and that others are  
to answer for all the unhappy Consequences  
of it.



To this Memorial the Duke gave no other Answer, than that he should be glad to receive Letters from *England*, before he entered upon Action. It occasioned, however, his immediate sending an Express thither, with an Account of what had passed, desiring that, before Things came to Extremities, he might receive his final Orders: Adding, it was a Matter of the greatest Importance to both the Public and himself, that he should know her Majesty's Pleasure as soon as possible.

In the Interim, the Prince and the Deputies pressed the Duke continually for a positive Answer; representing, at the same Time, the Goodness and Superiority of the Confederate Troops, which could not be contradicted; and concluding, the Duke must have Orders not to do any Thing, though he would not own them; since they knew he could not answer for his Inaction, if it were not according to Order.

On the 7th of *June*, a Letter came from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, dated the 17th of *May*, 'which expressed the Impatience her Majesty was in to hear, whether the Orders, sent on the 10th of *May*, came safely and early to his Hands, and the Assurance she had of his Grace's punctual Obedience to her Commands, in so nice and important a Juncture.' His Grace returned an Answer the next Day, representing, 'That Things were now come to great Extremity; that he could not avoid seeing every Day fresh Marks of the

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' ill Blood and Disaffection caused among the  
 ' Allies, by the Measures he was obliged to  
 ' observe ; that many of them did not scruple  
 ' to say, that we were betraying them, and  
 ' this Ferment seemed rather likely to en-  
 ' crease than diminish ; and, considering the  
 ' Circumstances we were in, it was hard to  
 ' say what might be the Consequences of it :  
 ' That, let the Peace, which he was in daily  
 ' Expectation to hear of, be never so advan-  
 ' tageous, he was apprehensive, that, if the  
 ' Allies should pretend to dislike it, he could  
 ' not depend upon any Troops but those  
 ' composed of her Majesty's own Subjects :  
 ' And what confirmed him in this Opinion  
 ' was, he was well inform'd that, if the Elec-  
 ' tor of *Hanover* did not approve of the  
 ' Peace, his Troops would have Orders to  
 ' serve with the *Dutch*, and would likewise be  
 ' augmented by all that Prince could spare  
 ' from other Parts ; and he was not without  
 ' Suspicion, that Endeavours were likewise us-  
 ' ing to gain the *Danes*. The Close of his  
 ' Letter was in these Words : *By this and my*  
 ' *former, you may guess, how uneasy a Situation*  
 ' *I am in ; and, if there be no Prospect of Ac-*  
 ' *tion, I do not see of what Use I am here ; and,*  
 ' *if it suit with her Majesty's Service, I should*  
 ' *be glad I might have Leave to return to*  
 ' *England : But in this and all other Matters*  
 ' *I shall readily submit to her Majesty's Plea-*  
 ' *sure. I am impatient to hear from you*  
 ' *what I am to depend upon,*'

The Siege of *Quesnoy* having been resolved upon by the Prince and Deputies, and the Armies passed the *Selle*, his Grace encamped with his Right at *St. Pitbou*, and his Left at *Chateau Cambresis*; the very next Day the Town was invested by a Detachment from the two Armies of 30 Battalions, and as many Squadrons; for, though the Duke had no Part in carrying on the Siege, he could not refuse furnishing seven Battalions and nine Squadrons of the Troops in the joint Pay of *England* and the *States*, but avoided sending any of those which were in her Majesty's whole Pay.

On the 10th the Duke receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur *Villars*, in which he lets his Grace know, ' He had received several Advices, ' that *Quesnoy* was actually invested, and that ' Part of the Troops in his Grace's Army was ' employed in that Service : That, by Order of ' his Master, he desires to know of him, if ' any Troops under his Command have a ' Share in undertaking or forming that Siege; ' for he cannot think Prince *Eugene* would ' venture to attempt it with those Forces alone ' which he commands. He therefore begs ' his Grace would explain this Matter to him, ' that he may know how to act and take his ' Measures, according as Prince *Eugene* perseveres in, or desists from this Enterprize.' He adds, ' That a Courier went from *Paris*, ' the Morning before, with the Answer of ' *Spain* to the Queen, which it was supposed would be satisfactory.'

The

The Duke answered, as the Mareſchal himſelf had obſerved, that the Keeping this Affair ſecret was of Conſequence ; he left him to judge whether he could otherwiſe answer this View, than by the Conduct he had obſerved : He acknowledged that he had furniſhed ſome Troops for the Siege of *Queſnoy*, which was not in his Power to prevent, but that they were ſuch as were in Part paid by the *States*, but not a ſingle Man ſolely in the Queen's Pay : That he thought, ſince the Trenches were not opened, the Siege would have no Effect to break the Meaſures concerted between their Sovereigns, before they could receive their final Inſtructions.—His Grace concluded his Letter by ſaying, that he was ſurprized at the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s informing him, that the Mareſchal had told one of that Duke's Trumpets, the *Engliſh* would not hurt the *French*, nor the *French* them ; and that he the Mareſchal had ſuch Orders, and did not at all doubt, but his Grace of *Ormonde* had the like,

The Mareſchal, in another Letter the next Day, denied that he had ever ſeen, or heard, of any Trumpet from the Duke of *Wirtemberg* ; that this was a mere Invention of thoſe who had a Mind to give a Reputation to the *Dutch Gazettes*, in which it had been affirmed, that his Grace had ſhewn Prince *Eugene* his Orders not to engage in any Attempt. He deſires to be inform'd by his Grace, whether the Army under his Command would oppoſe any Attempt, which the  
 King's



‘ King’s Forces would certainly make upon  
‘ the Prince, if he continued the Siege : And  
‘ adds, that the King, while he sees Prince  
‘ *Eugene* undertaking a Siege, and knows the  
‘ Army under his Grace ought not to act di-  
‘ rectly or indirectly against his, would be ve-  
‘ ry much displeased with him, if he continu-  
‘ ed inactive.’

In the mean Time an Express arrived from  
Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with two Letters, the  
first of *May* the 27th, acquainting the Duke;  
‘ That the affected Alarm and Clamour, raised  
‘ with so much Industry, both in *England* and  
‘ *Holland*, by the *Dutch*, gives her Majesty no  
‘ Uneasiness whatever; and that, as her Orders  
‘ were founded on the most just as well as pru-  
‘ dent Considerations, his Grace had obeyed  
‘ them with that Firmness, which became him :  
‘ That her Majesty approves his Grace’s Pro-  
‘ posal in taking the Camp he had mentioned  
‘ to cover the Siege of *Quesnoy*, if the Prince  
‘ and *States* persist in their Design of attack-  
‘ ing that Place : That it was her Majesty’s  
‘ Pleasure his Grace should find the most  
‘ plausible Pretence of sending a Trumpet to  
‘ *Monfieur Villars*, to inform that General of  
‘ the true State of Affairs, and to acquaint  
‘ him, that Things would not continue long  
‘ in this uncertain Condition, since in four or  
‘ five Days the Duke might expect to hear  
‘ from *England* that the Peace was secure, or  
‘ to receive Orders for entering immediately  
‘ upon Action. His Grace was directed to  
‘ con-

‘ conclude, by saying, that, since the Suspence  
 ‘ would so soon be removed, he hoped the  
 ‘ Marechal would not oblige him to come to  
 ‘ any Action, either to defend himself, or to  
 ‘ join with Prince *Eugene*, as he must necessa-  
 ‘ rily do, if the Prince should be attacked.’

The second Letter from Mr. Secretary, of  
 the 28th, gives an Account of the Question  
 moved that Day, and rejected in both Houses  
 of Parliament: ‘ That the Queen would send  
 ‘ Orders to his Grace to fight; and of the  
 ‘ Address which was carried in the Commons,  
 ‘ without a Division, and in the Lords by a  
 ‘ Majority of twenty-eight.’ The Secretary  
 adds, ‘ That the Spirit, which was then shewn  
 ‘ in both Houses, was more considerable, and  
 ‘ a better Omen, than even the Majority by  
 ‘ which they prevailed.’ Enclosed was a Let-  
 ter of the same Date, from the Secretary to the  
 Marquis *Torcy* to this Purpose, ‘ That the Re-  
 ‘ monstrances which the *States* had made to the  
 ‘ Queen, upon the Duke of *Ormonde*’s refusing  
 ‘ to engage with them, either in a Battle, or a  
 ‘ Siege, had no other Effect on her Majesty,  
 ‘ than to make her renew the same Orders to  
 ‘ the Duke: But in case Prince *Eugene* and  
 ‘ the *States*, which was not very likely, should  
 ‘ persist in their Design of besieging any Place,  
 ‘ though the Army of the Queen should not  
 ‘ concur in it; the Duke of *Ormonde* was to  
 ‘ desire Monsieur *Villars* not to attempt any  
 ‘ Thing against them, nor oblige them to  
 come to any Action: That, in a very few  
 ‘ Days,

‘ Days, the Queen expected the Answer of  
‘ King *Philip* from his most Christian Majesty;  
‘ upon which either her Majesty would be sa-  
‘ tisfied, or give Orders to her General to act  
‘ with all possible Vigour : That so inconfide-  
‘ rable a Delay as this could be of no Preju-  
‘ dice to their Interests ; and therefore the  
‘ Queen did not doubt but the Mareschal  
‘ would think himself obliged to hinder any  
‘ general Action, by giving no Disturbance to  
‘ the Allies, as the Duke of *Ormonde* had  
‘ already prevented it, by refusing to act against  
‘ the Army of *France*.’

He farther adds, that, if Prince *Eugene*’s Army and the *Dutch* were so unreasonable, as to press on a Siege, without his Grace’s Concurrence, and to refuse to stay a few Days while he expected his final Orders ; his Grace is directed to send this Letter, with one from himself, to Monsieur *Villars* ; which he accordingly did on the 12th. To this the Mareschal returned an Answer the next Day, ‘ That, though it was mortifying to see an E-  
‘ nemy undertake a Siege, without giving him  
‘ any Disturbance, he would not attempt any  
‘ Thing against the Army of Prince *Eugene*.’

On the 13th, Monsieur *Wilderen* and Monsieur *Hop* came by Order of their Masters the *States* to the Duke : Monsieur *Wilderen* began the Discourse, by assuring his Grace, in the Name of the *States*, that they had the same profound Veneration and Respect for the Queen as ever, and would take Care to shew it  
upon

upon all Occasions ; though they had Reason to apprehend some ill Offices had been done them, by their being represented as if they had too great a Correspondence with the *Whig-gish* Party in *England*. They desired the Duke to assure her Majesty of the contrary ; and intimated the Design of the *States*, to send an extraordinary Deputation to her Majesty for the same Purpose. Discourfing afterwards upon the Subject of the Siege of *Quesnoy*, the Deputies asked the Duke, if he would furnish any more of the Auxiliary Troops for that Service : To which he answered, That he had given them what they at first desired, and could spare no more. The Duke was then asked, Whether, in case of their being attacked, during the Siege, he would cover them ? To which he replied, He would till he had farther Orders. They then enquired particularly, Whether they might depend upon his Assistance, in case the *French* should make a Detour, and come by the Way of *Landrecy* and *Bavay* ? He assured them they might, till fuch Time as he had Instructions to the contrary ; and that then they should not fail of being acquainted with it.

As foon as the Duke had received the News of what had passed in Parliament, he ordered it to be translated, and sent to Monsieur *Bulou*, who came next Morning ; and, in his Discourse seemed not very well satisfied with the *Dutch* ; and took some Pains to persuade his Grace, that the Elector of *Hanover*,  
his



his Master would never give into any Measures but in Concert with the Queen.

At this Juncture, the *English* Court received Advice from good Hands in *Holland*, that the *Dutch* had proposed, to the Marquis of *Torcy*, a separate Negotiation with *France*, exclusive of *England*; in which Proposals they represented to the said Marquis some particular Advantages which *France* might reap by such a Treaty; but, that notwithstanding, this met not with the least Countenance from the Court of *Versailles*.

On the 17th of *June* his Grace receiv'd a Letter from the Lord Privy-Seal, in which his Lordship informs him, ' That the Ministers of the ' *States*, though frequently put in Mind and ' called upon, had never been prevail'd with to ' treat about any Plan of Peace, to that very ' Day. That therefore, upon their making ' so ill a Return to the Queen's Condescensions ' towards them, and refusing to concert Measures with her, he had been ordered by her ' Majesty to take the first solemn Occasion to ' declare, that all her Majesty's Offers were ' founded upon this express Condition, that ' they came immediately into the Queen's ' Measures; and that she look'd upon herself, ' from their Conduct now, to be under no Obligation whatever to them.'

On the 21st an Express arriv'd from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter, dated *June* the 7th. This owns the Receipt of all the Duke's Letters, ' and begins with mentioning

' the Satisfaction, with which her Majesty  
 ' heard of that exact Obedience which his  
 ' Grace had paid to her Orders.' Inclosed  
 were two Copies of two Letters and a Me-  
 morial, which were to be dispatch'd the same  
 Day from *England* to the Marquis of *Torcy*,  
 containing Proposals for a Cessation of Arms,  
 for two Months, between the Armies in the  
*Netherlands*: In these the Queen insists on the  
 Execution of the Articles, relating to King *Phi-*  
*lip's* Renunciation of the Crown of *France*, and  
 an immediate Delivery of *Dunkirk*, as Points,  
 without which she would not declare for a  
 Cessation. The Secretary acquainted his Grace,  
 ' That her Majesty was positively resolved to  
 ' continue no longer on the present Foot,  
 ' Matters being brought now to a very short  
 ' Issue. If these Conditions were accepted, and  
 ' sent him, sign'd by the Marquis of *Torcy*, and  
 ' *Dunkirk* put into our Possession, he was pub-  
 ' lickly to own he could act no longer against  
 ' the *French*; if they were not consented to,  
 ' he was entirely free from Restraint, and at  
 ' Liberty to take all reasonable Measures which  
 ' were in his Power for annoying the Enemy.  
 ' That he hopes my Lord *Strafford*, then going  
 ' to *Utrecht*, will find the *Dutch* more tracta-  
 ' ble than they have hitherto been; in which  
 ' Case, the Queen would do her utmost to settle  
 ' the Terms of a Cessation, and of a Peace too,  
 ' in the best Manner for them. That it was  
 ' with the greatest Regret, her Majesty found  
 ' her self constrain'd to come to such Extremi-  
 ties

ties with her Allies : But what Remedy had  
 she left ? When either she must follow this  
 Course, or submit to be used worse than any  
 petty Prince, and see the Negotiation wrest-  
 ed out of her Hands, for no other Rea-  
 son, but because some Benefit was like to ac-  
 crue to her Subjects by a Peace. That it  
 was probable, Monsieur *Villars* would re-  
 ceive the Orders (*for the Surrendry of Dun-*  
*kirk*) which would be sent from *Versailles* ;  
 and that therefore his Grace should lose no  
 Time in acquainting the *Mareschal*, that, ac-  
 cording to the King's Resolution upon these  
 Articles, they were either to look on them-  
 selves on both Sides, as freed from any re-  
 strictive Orders, and in full Liberty of acting  
 against each other ; or openly to declare for  
 a Cessation of Arms, while the best Means  
 possible were used with the rest of the Allies  
 to do the same. However, the Queen's De-  
 claration was to be positive. That his Grace  
 to be sure was informed of the Endeavours  
 used by the *States* to seduce the Troops in  
 her Majesty's Pay from her, and to borrow  
 Money for carrying on their Subsistence. The  
 Queen makes no Doubt therefore but his Grace  
 is on his Guard, and would take the best  
 Precaution to make those Troops steady to  
 her Majesty's Interest, and to prevent any  
 Surprise : That Care would be taken to let  
 the several Ministers know in what Manner  
 the Queen would resent any Steps of that  
 Kind ; and that his Grace would do well

‘ to speak the same Language to the Generals  
 ‘ of the Foreign Corps paid by the Queen.  
 ‘ The Secretary observes how the Duke had  
 ‘ been pressed, he might say, indecently, to  
 ‘ give an Account what Orders he had received;  
 ‘ and tells the Duke that he himself had been  
 ‘ questioned by the *Dutch* Minister, much in  
 ‘ the same Manner; whom he answered, by  
 ‘ demanding what the private Instructions  
 ‘ were, which the *States* had given to their  
 ‘ Deputies and Generals. He is of Opinion,  
 ‘ that, in case *France* should agree with the  
 ‘ Queen, and his Grace should by Consequence  
 ‘ refuse publickly to act against them, the Al-  
 ‘ lies would have little Reason to complain;  
 ‘ since *Dunkirk* was something more valuable  
 ‘ than *Quesnoy*, and a Town delivered up was  
 ‘ more cheaply acquired than a Town taken  
 ‘ by Siege.’

The Duke immediately sent a Trumpet to  
 the Marechal, and *June* the 25th received a  
 Copy of the Articles, the Original of which  
 had been sign’d by the Marquis of *Torcy*, in  
 the Manner the Queen had demanded. Up-  
 on this the Earl of *Orkney* was directed to pre-  
 pare himself to march with ten Battalions, in  
 order to take Possession of *Dunkirk*.

The same Morning the Duke wrote to  
 Monsieur *Villars*, and signified to him, ‘ That  
 ‘ he wished the Marquis of *Torcy* would  
 ‘ have given himself the Trouble to have sign-  
 ‘ ed the Copy of the Articles, which would  
 ‘ have



‘ have been more regular, and more agreeable  
 ‘ to the Duke’s Instructions : However he  
 ‘ would not obstruct the accomplishing so good  
 ‘ a Work, by raising Difficulties and Scruples,  
 ‘ and insisting too much upon the Want  
 ‘ of Formality. That he was just going to  
 ‘ make Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies  
 ‘ a Visit, with whom he was to keep Mea-  
 ‘ sures to the last ; and that he should endea-  
 ‘ vour to persuade them to desist from the  
 ‘ Siege of *Quesnoy*, and to declare to them that,  
 ‘ in case of their Refusal, he should be obliged  
 ‘ to withdraw the Army of the Queen. That  
 ‘ he should send away a Detachment, the next  
 ‘ Day, to take Possession of *Dunkirk* ; but  
 ‘ was of Opinion, that the Marechal should  
 ‘ have given him an Order in Form for its  
 ‘ Surrender ; and desired he would lose no  
 ‘ Time in a Matter of so great Importance ;  
 ‘ concluding, that, as soon as he knew the  
 ‘ Resolutions of the Prince and the Deputies,  
 ‘ he would not fail to let them have Notice  
 ‘ of it.’ And,

The same Day, the Duke visited the Prince  
 and the Deputies, in Pursuance of his Pro-  
 mise to acquaint them with any such Orders  
 he should receive from *England*, incompatible  
 with his covering the Siege of *Quesnoy* ; and  
 told them that the *French* King had agreed  
 to several Articles demanded by the Queen, as  
 a Foundation for a Suspension of Arms ; and,  
 among others, the giving up immediately in-  
 to our Possession the Town of *Dunkirk*. That

the Duke therefore could no longer cover the Siege of *Quesnoy*; being obliged by his Instructions, to march with the Queen's Troops, and those in her Majesty's Pay, and to declare a Cessation of Arms, as soon as *Dunkirk* was delivered up: And he hoped they would readily concur therein, which would be the most powerful Motive, to induce the Queen to take all possible Care of their Interests at the Peace. He likewise endeavoured to shew them, that *Dunkirk*, as a Cautionary Town, was a Place of greater Consequence to the Allies than *Quesnoy*. The Deputies desired five Days Time to consult their Masters upon so important a Matter; which the Duke would have allowed them, if in the mean Time they would have agreed to desist from the Prosecution of the Siege, or at least to make some Delay in it, which they said was not in their Power. However, he at last consented to give them three Days, that being no Hindrance to the Execution of his Orders, because he could not expect to have an Account before that Time from the *French* Court, how *Dunkirk* should be delivered up to him. The Deputies refused to let a Detachment go through any of their Towns in the Way to *Dunkirk*; and both they and the Prince told his Grace, that his Marching away with the Queen's Troops, and the Foreigners in her Pay, would leave them to the Mercy of the *French*; but that they were sure, the Foreigners would not march; which, it seems, they had very good Ground to believe.

The Duke had taken the first Opportunity to sound the Generals of the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay : They seemed at first well inclined to continue steady to her Majesty's Interest ; and particularly General *Bulou*, who came to his Grace seemingly with great Joy and Satisfaction, as soon as he had read the Queen's Speech, and told him he was ready with his Master's Troops to follow all such Orders as his Grace should think fit to give him. But upon discoursing with him now, the Duke found, that Means had been used to prevail upon him, as well as the rest ; who agreed in making Excuses, and pretended they could not separate from the Confederacy, without express Directions from their Masters, to whom they had sent Couriers accordingly. They alleged, that neither the Grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any Parties treating of, or making Peace, or even a Suspension of Arms, without the Consent of the others. The Duke thought it belonged not to him to enter into these last Particulars ; but insisted on the Commands he received from the Queen, and on the Engagements they were under to assist him, their General, in an effectual Compliance with them ; representing, at the same Time, the just Reasons the Queen had to resent, and the ill Consequences that would attend, their Refusal.

However, the Duke finding that the Foreign Troops would obey no Orders, but what they themselves, in Conjunction with the Prince

and the Deputies, should approve, countermand-  
 ed the Detachment designed for *Dunkirk*. And  
 in the Afternoon sent to Monsieur *Villars* an  
 Account of the Result of his Visit, and desi-  
 red to know of him more particularly, ‘ In  
 ‘ what Manner *Dunkirk* was to be put into our  
 ‘ Hands, in case the *English* Troops marched  
 ‘ alone without the Auxiliaries ; which, he  
 ‘ had some Reason to suspect, might scruple  
 ‘ to go along with him: Adding, that he  
 ‘ hoped he would not defer sending the neces-  
 ‘ sary Orders for the Delivery of that Town,  
 ‘ which would be a Means to make every  
 ‘ Thing relating to the Peace go on the more  
 ‘ easily, and the Cessation of Arms take Effect  
 ‘ the sooner.’

This Precaution the Duke thought very ne-  
 cessary, having no Assurance that *Dunkirk* would  
 be surrendered upon a Cessation being declared,  
 not by the Queen’s Army, of which he had  
 the Command, but by that Part of it only  
 which consisted of her Majesty’s own Sub-  
 jects.

The same Day, a second Express arrived  
 with a Letter, dated *June* the 11th, wherein  
 Mr. Secretary *St. John* acquaints the Duke,  
 ‘ That, supposing he receives from the Court  
 ‘ of *France* an Acceptance of the Conditions  
 ‘ proposed by her Majesty for a Suspension  
 ‘ of Arms, the Queen directs that he would  
 ‘ consider how to take Possession of *Dunkirk*  
 ‘ in the best and safest Manner ; and this not  
 ‘ only with Respect to the Enemy, but to the  
 ‘ Allies ;



' Allies; and that he would know of Monsieur  
 ' *Villars*, what Facility he could give on his  
 ' Part in the Matter, and how his Grace might  
 ' best obviate such Difficulties as the Prince  
 ' and the Deputies might create. And though  
 ' what had passed lately in *England*, had made  
 ' the Queen absolutely Mistress of her own  
 ' Conduct, and cut off all Hopes of breaking  
 ' through her Measures: It was good, how-  
 ' ever, to suppose the worst, and to omit no  
 ' Precaution in an Affair so nice in its Na-  
 ' ture, and of so great Importance to the  
 ' Queen's Honour, and to the Interest of her  
 ' Kingdoms. Should the *French* not comply  
 ' with the Articles proposed by her Majesty,  
 ' his Grace understood himself to be at Liber-  
 ' ty to act, as if no restrictive Orders had ever  
 ' been sent him.'

The Duke, upon a Supposition that Mon-  
 sieur *Villars* would send him a satisfactory An-  
 swer, and that the Foreign Troops would per-  
 sist in their Refusal to obey his Orders, designed  
 to make use of the safest Method, and march  
 with all the *English* Troops and the Artillery to  
*Dunkirk*; the *English* Corps being so small, that  
 it could not be any other Way secure. They  
 would then have the Sea open, in case the Queen  
 should think fit to recall them; the Town of  
*Dunkirk*, and Forts depending upon it, would  
 hold all the Foot, and the Horse might be en-  
 camped under the Cannon. And this the  
 Duke had Reason to think the more necessary,  
 since the *Dutch* had refused to let a Detach-  
 ment

ment pass through their Towns; and, should the Troops be separated, he would not be so able for the Execution of any Orders the Queen might send him, as he should be at *Dunkirk*. This was the Disposition the Duke thought most suitable to the present Posture of Affairs; and, that nothing might be omitted on his Side, he sent to the Foreign Generals written Orders, requiring them to be ready to march with him upon the first Motion he should make.

On the 27th, a Trumpet from Mareschal *Villars* let the Duke know, ' That he had dispatch'd a Courier to Court, about the Subject of his last Letter; and in the mean Time informed him, that the Orders for the Delivery of *Dunkirk* of Course went from Court to the Lieutenant-General that commanded in that Place, who, he supposed, would have Directions to surrender it, as a Cessation was agreed upon; and this he thinks might commence immediately, since the King had agreed to all the Queen's Demands. But he begs Leave to observe to the Duke, that the King might very well be astonished, that, in case of a Cessation, the Generals of the Auxiliary Troops should make any Difficulty to separate from Prince *Eugene*; and that it was surprising, that the *Dutch* should have more Power over Men which they do not pay, to make them hazard their Lives, than the Queen, who has paid them these dozen Years,

‘ Years, should have, to persuade them not to  
‘ expose themselves to any Danger.’

On the 29th, Monsieur *Villars* sent the Answer, which the Marquis of *Torcy* had dispatched to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, the 27th, about the Point of a Cessation. The Substance of the Marquis’s Letter was, ‘ That, notwithstanding so essential a Difference, as that  
‘ of the Auxiliaries still continuing with Prince  
‘ *Eugene*, the Duke of *Ormonde* demanded  
‘ the Surrender of *Dunkirk* ; that, in the very  
‘ Articles proposed for a Cessation, it is expressed, that the Cessation should be between the  
‘ Armies, which are at present in the *Netherlands* ; that it is upon this View of a general Cessation, that so important a Place as  
‘ *Dunkirk* was to be delivered up : That the  
‘ chief Motive which made *England* and *France*  
‘ agree to a Cessation was, that nothing might  
‘ happen between the Armies to interrupt the  
‘ Measures which were taking for a Peace :  
‘ To effect this, nothing but a general Cessation would be sufficient; and, if the Enemies  
‘ of Peace had still the Liberty, the Means and  
‘ Power of Acting left them, the Condition,  
‘ upon which the King was to surrender *Dunkirk*  
‘ to the Queen, would not be complied with on  
‘ her Majesty’s Part : That the King always  
‘ thought the Queen was entire Mistress of the  
‘ Troops which composed her Army ; and  
‘ that they had all Orders to follow the  
‘ Duke of *Ormonde*’s Directions ; and therefore, upon a Cessation, were to forbear Ac-  
‘ tion,

' tion, as well as the *English*: That, in case  
 ' the *English* alone left the Army, Prince *Eu-*  
 ' *gene*, finding himself the sole General at the  
 ' Head of great Numbers of Men, would  
 ' hazard any Thing to come to an Action; and  
 ' would not at all scruple to sacrifice Troops  
 ' which his Master did not pay, and which  
 ' were to be under the Prince's Command, only  
 ' during the Remainder of the Campaign.  
 ' Therefore, since these Proposals for a Cessa-  
 ' tion neither answered the Measures which  
 ' the Queen had hitherto taken for a Peace,  
 ' nor agreed with the Articles which had been  
 ' concerted between her Majesty and the  
 ' King, upon that Subject, the King was per-  
 ' suaded that the Queen would give the Duke  
 ' of *Ormonde* full Instruction to separate the  
 ' whole entire Army, which was in her Ma-  
 ' jesty's Pay, and actually under the Duke's  
 ' Command, from that of Prince *Eugene*; and,  
 ' when this was done, the King would be  
 ' ready to deliver up *Dunkirk*, as it had been  
 ' agreed upon in the Articles of the Cessa-  
 ' tion.

The View of this Letter gave the Duke good  
 Reason to hope, that the Queen approved of his  
 designing not to separate her Troops, and to  
 march towards *Dunkirk*, till he had sufficient As-  
 surance that the Place would be delivered up  
 to him; whereas now the contrary appeared  
 so evidently, that he should have thought him-  
 self immediately at Liberty to act in Conjun-  
 ction with the Allies, would he have taken up-  
 on



on himself to make a Step of that Consequence, without the Queen's particular Orders; but these he had farther Room to expect, since the Allies were now engaged in the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and in no Condition therefore at present of attacking the Enemy. And the Duke was the less uneasy under this Delay, being sensible that *England* had not been able on her Part to make good the Condition of a general Cessation, upon which the immediate Delivery of *Dunkirk* was promised.

Monsieur *Villars*, in his Letter, had invited the Duke of *Ormonde* to an Interview, which the Duke (being no Way empowered to agree to, and resolved never to depart the least Tittle from his Instructions) declined, and excused himself in a Letter to the Mareschal.

While the Duke was dispatching an Express, with an Account of all these Proceedings, a Messenger brought him a Letter of *June* the 14th, from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, which gave the Duke an Account, ' That the Courier returned from *France* the Night before, ' and that her Majesty's Demands were complied with to her Satisfaction. If therefore ' his Grace had any Difficulties, as several ' were foreseen, which might arise in taking ' Possession of *Dunkirk*, he might keep his ' Army entire, and the Measures were ready in ' *England* for sending over Troops sufficient ' for that Service; that nothing could be more ' dreadful to the *Dutch*, than this Town in ' *English* Hands: That he was therefore to ' consider

' consider the Temper they were in ; and, if  
 ' he was likely to have the least Disturbance  
 ' given him on this Account, he was to keep  
 ' the Secret, send his Accounts to the Queen,  
 ' and in the mean Time the Troops should  
 ' be ready to enter the Place from *England* ;  
 ' where Means would be found of concerting  
 ' Things so, that the Declaration for a Suspen-  
 ' sion of Arms should be exactly timed with  
 ' the Evacuation of *Dunkirk*. If they had ta-  
 ' ken Possession, well ; if not, they could be  
 ' able to do it from thence ; and, perhaps in  
 ' the present Ferment, he had better lie still,  
 ' and let *Dunkirk* be possessed first, and the Cla-  
 ' mour happen afterwards.'

On the 5th of *July* came another Letter, of  
*June* the 20th, from the Secretary, informing  
 the Duke, ' That the Queen had ordered my  
 ' Lord *Strafford* to make all possible Haste  
 ' to the Army, with Instructions, which were  
 ' necessary in this critical Conjunction: That  
 ' the Foreign Ministers had been told, that  
 ' the Queen would look upon herself as ac-  
 ' quitted from all Obligations of Arrears of  
 ' Subsidies, or Pay, to that Prince, whose  
 ' Troops should refuse to obey her General's  
 ' Orders without Hesitation : That his Grace  
 ' should declare as much to those who com-  
 ' manded them, and require a positive An-  
 ' swer from them : That, till my Lord *Straf-*  
 ' *ford* came, the best Use his Grace could  
 ' make of the intermediate Time, would be  
 ' to continue vigilantly on his Guard, and to  
 ' speak

‘ speak in the plainest and most resolute Man-  
‘ ner to them.’ Enclosed came a Copy of a  
a Letter from the Secretary to the Marquis of  
*Torcy*, of the same Date, the Subject of which  
was, ‘ That the Queen, having received an  
‘ Account of what had passed, both from the  
‘ Duke of *Ormonde*, and from *France*, com-  
‘ manded him to acquaint the Marquis, how  
‘ very great a Dissatisfaction it was to her  
‘ to see, that the Enemies of Peace had  
‘ again found out Means to retard its Conclu-  
‘ sion, by exposing the Methods by which  
‘ it was to be gained to new Difficul-  
‘ ties and Dangers. But as her Majesty had  
‘ taken a firm and immoveable Resolution,  
‘ not to give the least Way to those Obstruc-  
‘ tions, and to continue her utmost Endea-  
‘ vours to concert with the King, towards  
‘ establishing a general Peace; so she did  
‘ not doubt, but she should be able to defeat  
‘ the last Efforts of those, who either sought  
‘ their own Interest, or gratified their private  
‘ Resentments, in prolonging the Miseries of  
‘ War. That he, in the Queen’s Name, had  
‘ declared to the Ministers of those Princes,  
‘ who had Troops in her Pay, that in this  
‘ Juncture her Majesty would look upon the  
‘ Conduct of the Foreign Generals, as a De-  
‘ claration of their Masters for, or against her;  
‘ since they must either follow the Plan which  
‘ she had laid for obtaining a Peace, or that  
‘ which the Emperor and the *States* had form-  
‘ ed for breaking it off. That the Queen could  
‘ not

not but persuade herself that those Generals, after a little Reflection, would obey the Duke of *Ormonde's* Orders without the least Hesitation; but, if they did not, her Majesty would pay those Troops no longer. That those Ministers had written to their Generals by this Courier, and the Duke of *Ormonde* would receive Orders, not only to make the same Declarations, but to put them immediately in Execution, if they refused to obey. That the Queen thought this Method could not fail of succeeding; but, in case any of the Foreign Troops persisted in their Design of staying with Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Ormonde* should retire with the *English* Forces, and all the Foreigners who would march with him (which, to be sure, would be the greatest Part of them) and declare that her Majesty would no longer act against *France*, or pay those that did. That her Majesty, who had hitherto observed Measures with her Allies, being forced by them to such an Extremity as this thought herself justified before God and Men, and at Liberty to carry on the Negotiations at *Utrecht*, or elsewhere, without regarding whether they concurred with her, or no. So that, if the King would surrender the Towns and Forts of *Dunkirk* into the Queen's Hands, tho' all the Foreign Troops, or some of them, should refuse to obey the Duke of *Omonde*, her Majesty would no longer make any Scruple of concluding her particular Peace; and would



set a Time for the others to come in upon those Conditions, what should be agreed upon between her and *France*. That the Peace now was in the King's Breast: If all the Army of the Duke of *Ormonde* should agree to a Suspension of Arms, the first Project, that was concerted between them, had its Effect; if they did not, the Duke would withdraw with the *English*, from the Allies, and the Foreign Troops would be left to take Service with the *Dutch*; who were so far from being able to furnish this new Expence, that they were not in a Condition to support the Charges they were already at. In short, that *England* would retire from the Theatre of War; and, since there would but a few Powers be left in a Capacity to make Head against *France*, the Peace might be concluded between these two Kingdoms in a few Weeks. These were the Proposals her Majesty made, and she believed the King would find his Account in them, as well upon the latter, as upon the former Plan; and that, besides, he would think it for both their Interests to make immediately a general Cessation, as well by Sea as by Land, between the two Crowns: That every Moment of Time was precious in such a Juncture, and therefore the Marquis would dispatch a Courier to the Duke, at the same Time he sent to *England*. If the Duke had Notice, that the King had given Orders to the Officer who commanded in *Dunkirk*, for the

‘ Surrender of it, his Grace would immediately execute what the Secretary had proposed, and in that Case her Majesty would send some Regiments from *England*, to take Possession of that Place, which would be a Way less liable to Accidents than making a Detachment from the Duke’s Army, as was at first designed. The Letter concludes, that the Queen had resolved to send my Lord *Strafford* directly to the Army.’

In the Secretary’s Letter (wherein this to the Marquis of *Torcy* was enclosed) the Duke was further reminded, “ That, if he received an Account from the Court of *France* that her Majesty’s last Proposals were agreed to, and Orders dispatched for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, he would have no more to do than to declare the Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*; to keep the whole Body, which should obey his Orders, entire, and to withdraw, in the best Manner, which the Circumstances he should be in would allow of.’

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, the Duke sent an Express to *England*, and acquainted Mr. Secretary, “ What a great Advantage he should have in this difficult Conjunction, that the Commands of the Queen were to be brought him by the Earl of *Strafford*: Whose long Experience and good Advice would, he hoped, help him to execute his Orders with better Success, and more Satisfaction to her Majesty, than he had hitherto been able to do,

‘ do, tho’ he could scarce be so sanguine, as  
 ‘ to flatter himself, that all his Lordship had  
 ‘ to say would prevail on the Generals of  
 ‘ the Foreign Troops in the Queen’s Pay to  
 ‘ change their Conduct, till they had Orders  
 ‘ from their respective Masters. That he  
 ‘ hoped my Lord *Strafford* would be able to  
 ‘ inform him the Rout he was to take, that the  
 ‘ Troops might not be in Danger of wanting  
 ‘ Subsistence, since the States, to be sure, would  
 ‘ not be willing we should live upon their Ter-  
 ‘ ritories ; and he could not see how we could  
 ‘ do it any where else, without paying for what  
 ‘ we had, and there was no Possibility of stay-  
 ‘ ing longer in the present Camp, after we had  
 ‘ declared the Suspension of Arms. His Grace  
 ‘ added, that he could not conceal from him,  
 ‘ that there were Advices from *France*, which  
 ‘ said, that Monsieur *Villars* opposed, as much  
 ‘ as he could, the Delivering up *Dunkirk* on  
 ‘ any other Conditions, than a general Sus-  
 ‘ pension between the Queen’s whole Army,  
 ‘ and that of the King his Master.’

The Duke had already told the Foreign  
 Generals, how they might expect the Queen  
 would resent their refusing to obey his Orders,  
 and had sent them the Letters transmitted from  
 the Ministers in *England* on that Subject. Mon-  
 sieur *Wilks*, who commanded the *Saxon* Troops,  
 was the only one he had yet seen, since  
 the Sending of those Letters, and he told his  
 Grace, ‘ That he could give no other Answer  
 ‘ than he did at first : That he expected every

‘ Day positive Orders from his Master’s Minister at *Utrecht*, that his Head was at Stake, and he must have a good Warrant for what he did.’

On *July* the 7th in the Morning, Monsieur *Villars* sent a Letter to the Duke with the Orders for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*; in this he tells him, ‘ That tho’, as a *Frenchman*, he ought to be grieved at the Loss of so important a Place; yet he did not regret it, since it made so firm a Union between the two Nations. That he saw, by the Secretary’s Letter to the Marquis of *Torcy*, that the Queen had taken her last Resolutions, to finish the great Work of Peace with Firmness and Spirit; which had been so long obstructed, by a malignant Party, and by the Self-Interest of some private Persons as well as Princes: And that he found by what was writ by the King’s Order to the Count of *St. John*, that his Master had taken the same Resolutions, and would not be wanting in any thing, the Queen should desire. The Mareschal concludes, with his Approbation of sending Troops from *England* to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, and thinks it most proper, for the Interest of both Nations, that the Duke should stay at the Head of as great a Body of Men as possible.’

The Duke could not but think it a little particular, that, when a Detachment was designed to go from the Army to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, the Mareschal sent him no Orders for its



its Surrender, but said, they were to go of Course to the Commander of that Place: And yet now, when he knew the Troops for that Service would be sent from *England*, he should dispatch those Orders immediately to the Camp; which indeed could be made the less Use of there, since the Duke neither knew, who commanded the Detachment, nor how to convey the Orders to him, if he had known.

Tho', upon the Receipt of those Orders for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, the Duke was now told, he had no more to do, than to declare the Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*, and to withdraw in the best Manner he could; yet, since he expected every Moment my Lord *Strafford*, with fresh Instructions for his future Conduct, he was not willing to do either of them, till that Lord arrived. In the mean Time he sent Monsieur *Villars* Word, that he hoped the same Orders had been dispatched to *England*, since the Troops, designed to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, were to go from thence.

On the 8th of *July*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the *Prussian* General, waited upon the Duke and told him, that the Night before he had received a Courier from the King, his Master, in Answer to what he had writ, upon the first Proposal his Grace had made to him; the King's Answer was, 'That he was extremely surpriz'd at what the Queen desired, in Relation to withdrawing his Troops from the rest of the Allies, and making a separate

Peace: That he had never any Intimation of it from the Queen, and wondered such a Proposal should be made to his General, without his being first acquainted with it himself: That, in the Queen's Speech, he did not find any thing particular mention'd for him, but all left at large; that he was dependent upon the Empire; and if he should separate from the Imperial Troops, in a Matter of this Consequence, it might be as fatal to him, as what had happened to the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*: And therefore he hoped, the Queen would not take it ill, if he kept his Troops with those of the Empire.

Monseigneur *Bulou* (who had first gone to the other Army for Advice) told the Duke, the same Day, that, by his Instructions, he could not separate his Troops from the Allies, without particular Orders from his Master; and that, if he should, his Head must answer for it. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* said, he had a Letter from the *Danish* Minister; but alleged, he could not withdraw his Troops, without Directions from the King.

July the 12th early in the Morning, arrived an Express from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter dated *June* 27th, containing another from the Marquis *de Torcy*, of *July* 5th, giving an Account of the *French* King's agreeing to the Queen's Proposals, in Relation to *Dunkirk*. The Secretary, in his Letter, tells his Grace, that Sir *James Abercrombie* and

and Colonel *King* had been the Night before  
 dispatch'd to *Dunkirk*, to prepare every  
 thing for the Reception of the Queen's  
 Troops, and for the Evacuation of that Place  
 by the *French*, and that they would inform  
 his Grace of their Arrival there, and of their  
 Proceedings in the Execution of her Majesty's  
 Commands : That Sir *John Leake* was  
 gone to the *Downs*, where a considerable  
 Squadron of Ships was assembled, and, he  
 hoped, that, in the very Beginning of the next  
 Week, the Fleet and Forces would be ready  
 to sail: That the Earl of *Strafford's* going by  
 the Way of *Holland*, instead of that of *Ostend*,  
 as was at first designed, would make him arrive  
 at the Army somewhat later, than it were to  
 be wish'd, and his Grace would, no Doubt,  
 be impatient to receive those Lights and In-  
 formations for his Guidance, in this nice  
 Conjunction of Affairs, which he was amply  
 instructed to give him : That upon hearing  
 from Sir *James Albercrombie* and Colonel  
*King*, that the Orders for evacuating *Dun-*  
*kirk* were received by the Governor, and  
 that he was ready to admit the Queen's  
 Troops into the Place ; his Grace was, with-  
 out losing a Moment, if he had not done  
 it already, to declare a Suspension of Arms,  
 and to withdraw with the *British* Troops,  
 and such others as should obey his Orders,  
 according to her Majesty's Commands, which  
 had been signified to him on the 20th. The  
 Secretary desires his Grace would observe,

that this Order was *positive*; and he was  
 commanded to explain the Reasons, upon  
 which it was founded; and that no Case  
 could possibly happen, in which her Majesty  
 would allow, that any other Measures should  
 be taken. If my Lord *Strafford* brought his  
 Grace Word, that the *Dutch* did absolutely  
 agree to a Suspension of Arms, then this Or-  
 der was proper; and *English* and *Dutch*,  
 and all the other Allies, would retire together.  
 If he brought his Grace Word, that they  
 would absolutely refuse the Suspension, then  
 this Order was necessary; since we were not  
 in Circumstances to have the Law imposed  
 upon us. And lastly, if my Lord *Strafford*  
 brought his Grace an Account, that the  
 States agreed to a Cessation of Arms condi-  
 tionally, and under Restriction, either as to  
 Time or Manner, her Majesty must look  
 upon such an Agreement to be more dange-  
 rous, than even a Refusal, since it could  
 have no other Consequence, or Design, than  
 to break the Queen's Measures, by gaining  
 of Time, and to make us lose the Oppor-  
 tunity of taking Possession of *Dunkirk*. The  
 Secretary farther informs his Grace, that Mr.  
*Hill* was appointed to command the Troops  
 that went over, and were to be in *Dunkirk*;  
 and that Mr. *Sweet* had Orders, to make no  
 further Payment, to any of the foreign Troops,  
 unless to such as his Grace and my Lord *Straf-*  
*ford* should think proper, and deserving  
 that Distinction at the Queen's Hands.'



The Duke immediately dispatched Colonel *Lloyd* to go to *Dunkirk*, with the Order, which had been sent from the *French* Court, for the Delivery of that Place, and gave the Colonel a Letter to Monsieur *Villars*, in which he acquaints the Mareschal, ' of the  
' two Officers being sent to *Dunkirk*; and  
' since the Mareschal had not inform'd him,  
' that the Orders for the Surrender of the  
' Town were sent to *England*, he desires his  
' *Aid de Camp* might have Liberty to carry  
' thither those, which he receiv'd from the  
' Mareschal on the seventh.'

A little after the Colonel had been dispatched, an Express came from Monsieur *Villars*, with a Pacquet directed to the Duke, from the Colonels, that were arrived at *Dunkirk*. The Mareschal tells his Grace,  
' how well satisfied he was, of his Master's  
' Confidence in the Queen's Word, and  
' that there should not be the least Delay,  
' or Difficulty, on his Side, in surrendering  
' the Town; but it seem'd reasonable to  
' him, that the Day, both for the Delivery  
' of the Town, and the Suspension of Arms,  
' should be agreed upon between them; and  
' he hop'd his Grace would think so too.  
' He adds, that he heard the Prince and  
' General *Dopff* had been, the Day before,  
' to reconnoitre *Landrecy*; and that his  
' Grace must believe, that neither this Enterprize, nor any other, would be attempted, without all the Opposition it was possible  
' ble

‘ ble for the King’s Troops to give them ;  
 ‘ and he hop’d the Duke, with the Forces  
 ‘ under his Command (which must, by this  
 ‘ Time, have receiv’d Orders from their Ma-  
 ‘ sters) would leave him at full Liberty to  
 ‘ act, or rather, to speak more properly, he  
 ‘ believed, the Disturbers of the Public  
 ‘ Quiet would not dare to trouble it  
 ‘ any longer.’

The two Colonels, in their Letter from *Dunkirk*, acquainted the Duke, ‘ That they had  
 ‘ waited upon the Governor, who told them,  
 ‘ that Monsieur *Voisin* had lately informed  
 ‘ him, that the King’s Orders had been sent to  
 ‘ Mareschal *Villars*, for delivering up *Dunkirk*  
 ‘ to her Majesty : But as yet those Orders were  
 ‘ not come to his Hands ; and, until they were,  
 ‘ he could not proceed to do any Business with  
 ‘ the Colonels.’

In the Evening the Duke received another  
 Letter from the Mareschal to inform him,  
 ‘ That no Orders, but what his Grace received,  
 ‘ had been sent for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*,  
 ‘ and to desire him to appoint a Day when the  
 ‘ Place should be delivered up, and the Suf-  
 ‘ pension of Arms declared ; and to tell him,  
 ‘ that he kept Colonel *Lloyd* at his Quarters,  
 ‘ till he had his Grace’s Answer. The Mare-  
 ‘ schal says, he finds, by Letters, from Mr.  
 ‘ *St. John*, that the Execution of both the  
 ‘ one, and the other, entirely depends upon  
 ‘ his Grace.’

The Foreign Generals continued, most of them, resolute not to march: The *Saxon* General seem'd undetermined, and said, he was in daily Expectation of Orders from his Master; only Monsieur *Barner* and Monsieur *Walef*, who severally commanded the *Holsteiners*, and the *Liege* Dragoons, told the Duke, that such of their Troops, as were paid by the Queen, would obey the Orders he should give them.

The same Evening the Lord *Strafford* arriv'd. And as his Grace had been long impatient for his Coming, so, upon discoursing with him, he wish'd his Lordship had brought those Lights, which his Grace had so much Reason to expect.

Next Morning the Duke dispatched an Express to Monsieur *Villars* to let him know, the Suspension of Arms only stuck at him, ' That he might see by an enclosed Extract of a Letter, from Mr. *St. John*, that it ought to follow the Declaration, the Governor of *Dunkirk* was to make of his being ready to deliver up the Town; and therefore desired, he would give Colonel *Lloyd* a Passport to make all the Haste he could to *Dunkirk*, to see what Dispositions were making there, for the Reception of the Queen's Troops; and that, as soon as ever he had an Account, that the Governor was ready to surrender it, he would immediately declare a Suspension of Arms; and the Marechal had nothing to do, but to name the Day, and inform him  
of

of it. His Grace adds that my Lord *Straford* arrived the Night before, and gave him Hopes, that things were now in a fair Way of being adjusted, for the Good of the common Cause.

On the 14th of *July*, the Duke received an Account from Monsieur *Killars*, ' That he had sent Colonel *Lloyd* forwards to *Dunkirk*, with all the necessary Orders for its Surrender, and that his Grace might reckon upon it as a thing done. He tells the Duke, that as it was a great Advantage to them, not to be obliged to fight against the Boldest and the Bravest of their Enemies, so it was of Importance to them, to know the Number of Enemies they had left; and therefore he desired to know from his Grace, what Troops and what Generals would obey his Orders; because, the first Attempt the Enemy made, he would not lose one Moment to meet them: That the King had given him Liberty to fight, of which nothing but the Negotiations of Peace had hitherto deprived him, and of which his Army was eager to take the Advantage: But he believed every thing would be concluded, if the Troops under his Grace's Command would follow his Orders. He desired, his Grace would not think it an indiscreet Curiosity, that he begg'd some Light might be given him in this Affair.'

In the mean Time, Prince *Eugene* sent the Duke Word, by an *Aid de Camp*, that he intended



tended to march on the 16th. The next Morning the Duke sent to let the Prince know, he was surprized at his Message, there having not been the least previous Concert with him, nor any Mention made, which Way, or on what Design he was to march; and therefore he could not resolve to march with him; much less could the Prince expect any Assistance from the Queen's Army, in any Design thus undertaken: That he thought fit to acquaint him of this beforehand, that he might take his Measures accordingly, and not attribute to his Grace any Misfortune, which might happen to him. The Duke likewise let him know, that, when he march'd, he himself should be obliged to take the best Care he could for the Security of the Queen's Troops, and to change his Camp, in order to it.

The same Morning the Duke sent to Monsieur *Villars* to acquaint him, ' That, at present, it was impossible for him to resolve his Question; but, the next Day, he believed he could give him a satisfactory Answer: ' That, as to the Suspension, he only waited for the Account from *Dunkirk*; but that on his Side it had its Effect already, since he had told the Prince and the Deputies, that, if they went upon any new Attempt, he could give them no manner of Assistance from the Army of the Queen.'

At Noon Colonel *Lloyd* arrived from *Dunkirk*, with an Account that the Governor was ready, in Obedience to the King's Orders, to con-

concert Measures with the Officers sent thither for that Purpose, in order to evacuate the Place, and receive her Majesty's Troops. The Colonel brought a Letter at the same Time from Monsieur *Villars*, in which the Mareschal tells the Duke, ' That, since every Thing was ready for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, the King commanded him to declare a Suspension of Arms on the 18th, believing the Town would be evacuated by that Time; and, if his Grace thought fit, he might declare it on the same Day: That he had Advice Prince *Eugene* was to march To-morrow; and his Grace would easily see that, if the Attempt was upon *Landrecy*, his Army would be in the Mareschal's Way when he marched towards that Place: He calls this a Conjunction *bien Vive*; and he thinks, he says, the Dutch Army very bold, if they should dare to despise the Alliance and Kindness of the Queen; and the Imperialists very ungrateful for the great Assistance and Advantages they have had from *England*. He repeats again his Desires to know, what Troops would stay with his Grace, though he had the Satisfaction to find that they were eased of their most dangerous Enemies, since the brave *English* were no longer so.'

On the 16th, Prince *Eugene*, according to the Resolution he had taken, marched, and all the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay, except the *Holsteiners*, and *Wales's* Dragoons, marched with him. The Generals of those  
Troops

Troops came to take Leave of the Duke with great Civility; expressed much Concern for the Separation, and hoped some happy Conjunction would soon unite them again. The Duke had not seen the Deputies for some Time; and the Prince had not been with him in a Fortnight. The Auxiliaries, that joined the Prince, were posted between the *English* Horse and Foot; which were now left at a greater Distance from each other; and under this ill Situation might, in a few Hours, have been fallen upon with Success, had the Mareschal thought fit to make use of the Advantage, which the Prince's March put into his Hands. In the mean Time the Prince's Army, even when separated from the *English*, was still numerous enough to be under no Apprehensions from the *French*.

The Duke immediately sent an Account of Prince *Eugene's* March, and of the Troops which went with him, to Monsieur *Villars*; telling him, ' That hitherto he had been in  
' Doubt, what Course the Generals of the Foreign Troops would take; since there was  
' Room to believe, that some of them had Orders to act more conformably to the Stipulations made with their Masters: That, to shew  
' our Sincerity, he had made a Proposal to  
' take some Battalions and Squadrons, which  
' were in the joint Pay, into the sole Pay of  
' the Queen: That he must put him again in  
' Mind, that the Suspension of Arms, on his  
' Side, had its Effect, by the Separation he had  
' made

‘ made of the Queen’s Troops, with all the  
 ‘ Artillery from those of Prince *Eugene*, and by  
 ‘ his Declaration of not giving them any As-  
 ‘ sistance. Besides which, the Payment of  
 ‘ the Foreign Troops was stopped, and conse-  
 ‘ quently all the Burthen of the War would  
 ‘ lie upon the *Dutch*, which they would not  
 ‘ long be able to support: That he should  
 ‘ make a Movement the next Day, and  
 ‘ should be ready to declare the Suspension, at  
 ‘ the Time he had mentioned.’

Monfieur *Villars* returned an Answer to  
 this immediately, and desired to know of the  
 Duke, ‘ What Way he designed to march,  
 ‘ and for that Reason he would stay another  
 ‘ Day in his Camp: That he looked upon his  
 ‘ Grace now, as no longer an Enemy; and  
 ‘ therefore that his Grace might encamp, if he  
 ‘ thought it proper, in any of the King’s Ter-  
 ‘ ritories; the *Dutch* being in Possession of  
 ‘ most of the Towns in *Flanders*, which  
 ‘ they never would have been, had the Gene-  
 ‘ rals, which preceded his Grace, had a greater  
 ‘ Regard to the Interests of their Queen and  
 ‘ Country. He added, that, in this critical  
 ‘ Juncture, he thought it would be highly ex-  
 ‘ pedient, that he might confer with his  
 ‘ Grace and my Lord *Strafford*, and proposed  
 ‘ an Interview between his Camp and *Chateau*  
 ‘ *Cambresis*.’

The Duke received another Letter this  
 Day, much to the same Purpose; besides  
 which, the Marechal acquaints him, ‘ That  
 ‘ since



‘ since his Grace judged it proper; he would,  
 ‘ To-morrow, declare the Suspension of  
 ‘ Arms through all his Army; supposing  
 ‘ that his Grace would do the same through  
 ‘ his: That he thought the Declaration by  
 ‘ Sound of Trumpet would be sufficient,  
 ‘ without the Exchange of Instruments; how-  
 ‘ ever, if his Grace liked the latter Method  
 ‘ better, he was ready to comply with it.’

The Duke being willing to lose no Time,  
 and judging it best for the Security of his  
 Troops, marched on the 17th; and the Rout,  
 he gave out he would take, was to *Warneton*,  
 on the *Lys*, where they might subsist equally  
 on the *Chatellanies* of *Lisle* and *Ypres*. While  
 the Army halted, he, according to his In-  
 structions, ordered the Cessation of Arms to be  
 declared; and, in the Evening, an Express  
 brought an Account from the *French* Camp,  
 that the like was done there.

The same Day he sent a Letter to the  
 Marechal, to acquaint him, ‘ Of his Design of  
 ‘ marching to some Place between *Lisle* and  
 ‘ *Ypres*, and of the great Satisfaction he  
 ‘ should have in an Interview with him; but  
 ‘ that at present he thought it would make a  
 ‘ great deal of Noise, and give but too much  
 ‘ Colour to those, who had now none at all to  
 ‘ justify their Conduct.’ The Duke farther  
 informed him, of his sending Word to the  
 Foreign Generals, that he had declared a Cessa-  
 tion of Arms; and that, if they would make

any Use of it, they had nothing to do, but to re-join him.

At Night the Duke gave an Account of all these Proceedings to the Secretary, ' And desired to have the Queen's positive Orders, ' how he was to dispose of his small Body of ' Troops, and of the Artillery: Whether he ' should go towards *Dunkirk*, or *Ghent*; if ' to the Former, what was to be done with ' the Artillery, Stores, &c. and with the ' Troops in the Latter, which were a Battalion in the Town, and five Hundred detached Men in the Citadel. The Duke left ' it to him to consider in what Manner we ' should be looked upon there, if any Misfortune should happen to the Allies after our ' Separating from them: And that he might ' judge of the Inclinations of the City of ' *Ghent*, by the Grand Bailiff's sending to ' Prince *Eugene*, to know, how he should ' govern himself in this difficult Conjunction. ' That he heard the like from other Places, ' and submitted it to the Queen, whether it ' might not be proper to put some more ' Troops into *Dunkirk*, since it was the common Report that no more than four Battalions were sent from *England*. His Grace could ' not but take Notice to the Secretary, that he ' was much surpris'd to find by his Discourse ' with my Lord *Strafford*, that the Report of ' his having shewn to Prince *Eugene*, and the ' Deputies, his Orders to undertake nothing, ' had gained Belief in *England*: That, if he ' pleased

' pleased to cast his Eye upon his Letters of  
 ' the 28th and 29th of *May*, and 4th of  
 ' *June*, he would see the Whole of what his  
 ' Grace had said on that Occasion; and there-  
 ' fore hoped, he would do him the Justice to  
 ' represent this in such a Manner to the  
 ' Queen, that a Story so groundless might  
 ' make no Impression on her Majesty, to  
 ' whose Commands he should ever pay the  
 ' exactest Obedience. Another Thing the  
 ' Duke could not but observe to him, that the  
 ' Conduct of the Foreign Generals was ex-  
 ' actly answerable to what he foresaw long  
 ' before, as the Secretary might find, by some  
 ' of his former Letters; and he could assure  
 ' him, it was publickly talked of in the Camp,  
 ' before he had intimated it to Monsieur *Vil-*  
 ' *lars*; and, as he knew, the Marechal had  
 ' too good Intelligence to be ignorant of it,  
 ' he thought it most agreeable to the Confi-  
 ' dence recommended to them, not to con-  
 ' ceal from him what he must have known  
 ' from other Hands.'

Upon the March our Army made the 18th,  
 my Lord *Strafford*, and some of our Officers,  
 being desirous to pass through *Bouchain*, were  
 told at the Gates, that the Commandant had  
 positive Orders to let no *Englishman* into  
 the Town; and the Commandant, being  
 sent to, confirmed it, and denied them Ad-  
 mittance. When they came near *Doway*, the  
 same Thing happened there, with a little more  
 Aggravation, though the Queen had large

Stores and an Hospital there; nay, it was with great Difficulty the Commandant could be prevailed upon to let the Corpse of Colonel *Haro* in to be buried. Upon this the Duke (since the Queen had left it to him to act in the present Circumstances, as he should think it most convenient, and most safe) thought it was Time to provide, as well for the Security of the Troops he had with him, as of those in the Town and Citadel of *Ghent*, where the *English* had likewise Artillery Stores; and therefore he altered his Rout, and marched towards that Place.

This gave such an Alarm to Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputies, that they thought fit, on the 19th, to send Count *Nassau* to the Duke, with a Memorial *not signed*, 'To represent to him, in the most convincing Manner, that, after the Excuses made by the Lord *Albemarle*, the Day before, at *Bouchain*, they were extreemly dissatisfied to hear by the Public Report, that the Commandant of *Doway* had likewise refused to admit some of the *English* Officers, and to let out the Undertakers for the Queen's Magazines. That they were very much mortified at the extraordinary Conduct of those two Commandants; and assured his Grace, they had absolutely no Orders for so doing, directly or indirectly; and that they the Deputies not only disavowed their Proceedings, but would give them such a Reprimand, as they deserved: That they were assured,



' fured, my Lord Duke was fatisfied with the  
 ' Declaration made by the Lord *Albemarle* ;  
 ' but, however, as the World might be in-  
 ' clined to interpret these Accidents to their  
 ' Difadvantage, the Deputies thought fit to  
 ' renew their Proteftations by Count *Naffau*,  
 ' that they were fo far from giving any Hin-  
 ' drance to the March of the *English* Troops,  
 ' that they have done, and always will do, all  
 ' that lies in their Power to facilitate it, as  
 ' well as what regards the Subfiftance of thofe  
 ' Forces : That therefore they affure and  
 ' promife his Grace, that there fhould be full  
 ' Liberty given him to have his Bread from  
 ' thofe Towns where the Magazines were :  
 ' That, as foon as his Grace had marched,  
 ' they fent Orders to all the Magiftrates of the  
 ' *Chattellanies*, to deliver out Forage in the  
 ' Place where he fhould encamp : That, as  
 ' foon as ever they heard of the Inconveni-  
 ' ency which had happened at *Bouchain*, they  
 ' gave Orders by the Lord *Albemarle* to all  
 ' the Places upon the *Lys* and *Scheld*, to pre-  
 ' vent the like for the future ; and, that after  
 ' having heard of what paffed at *Doway*, they  
 ' had fent Directions for the Magazines,  
 ' Baggages, &c. to have Liberty of follow-  
 ' ing the Army : That all thefe are incon-  
 ' testable Proofs, that they have omitted no-  
 ' thing which might be of any Affiftance to  
 ' him : That they fhould always continue in  
 ' the fame Opinion ; and they hoped, that  
 ' thofe Accidents would not be imputed to  
 ' them,

‘ them, which they had no Share in, but happened rather by Chance, and through the Fault of the Commandants ; and that no ill Interpretations should be suffered to be made, to exasperate the Spirits of both Nations, which was the Thing in the World they laboured to prevent. That, though his Grace had made no Complaint of this Matter, they would not lose one Moment to represent to him the Truth of it ; and to prevent any Dissatisfaction it might create, before he had a true State of the Case.’

As soon as Count *Nassau* was gone, Count *Hompesch*, Governor of *Doway*, came, and assured the Duke, that the Commandant of that Place had no Orders from him to refuse our Officers Admittance into the Town. He examined those Officers about the Circumstances of the Fact : The Count marched the next Day with us to *Flerival*, and had by that Means an Opportunity to see what we were doing, and to frame some Conjecture of our future Designs.

The Duke, notwithstanding all the Apologies and Excuses, which had been made to him, could not believe the Commandants would have dared to make such a Step, unless they had express Orders for it. He was the more persuaded of this, because, when the Deputies first heard of his Grace’s Design to withdraw the Queen’s Troops, they could not forbear saying, that they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their Towns ; and there

there was little Room to doubt, whether those Orders were general, since, after the presenting this Memorial, the same Difficulties happened at *Tournay*, *Audenard*, and *Lisle*, as had at *Bouchain* and *Doway*. The Usage Captain *Hart* met with was very extraordinary, and must not be omitted: He was sent Express to *England* by the Duke, on the 17th. When he came to *Haspre*, the *Imperialists* would not let him through; it was Night they told him, and they could not examine him then: Upon which he was forced to return, and set out again next Morning. At *Courtray* he took a Guide to conduct him to *Bruges*; and, when he thought he was at the Gates of that City, he found himself at *Petteghem*, which was eight Leagues out of the Way; and the Guide confessed he had done this by his Master's Order. At *Bruges*, after he had waited two Hours at the Gate, the Burgomaster sent him Word he would not admit him: At last the Gate was opened, but the Burgomaster took Care to trifle away two or three Hours, before the Captain could get any Horses.

The Duke's Design was to pass the *Lys*, and post himself before the Canal of *Bruges*: A Letter, he had received the Day before from the Secretary, renewed the Queen's Directions to him, to act as he should judge most proper; and this seemed to be the most convenient Situation for him, to receive and execute such further Orders as her Majesty would

think fit to give him, as well in regard to other Points belonging to her Service, as to the City of *Bruges*, where something had lately passed, very little consistent with the Respect they owed to the Queen; for some of the Magistrates had applied to the Council of State, and desired they would put them in a Condition to secure themselves against their Enemies the *English*. The Council referred the Matter to Prince *Eugene*, and he writ them a Letter on the 12th from *Haspre*, that he had already been considering how he might put a sufficient Garrison into that Place. Some Deputies from *Ghent* had been with the Council of State upon the same Errand, and they were sent back, as well as those of *Bruges*, with strict Orders to be upon their Guard. At the same Time the Duke was informed, that a Battalion of *Mehal*, which were *Swiss*, had lately been sent from *Bouchain* to *Ghent*; and that the *Dutch* so far resented the Conduct of Messieurs *Barner* and *Walef*, who marched with him, that they turned them out of their Posts of Major-Generals, before the Duke left the Camp. Colonel *King* brought him the News, that the Queen's Troops were entirely in Possession of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts belonging to it,

On the 23d, the Duke went to *Ghent*, and had all the Civilities paid him, which could be expected from the Magistrates; and on the 25th he encamped, with the Right, on the Canal of *Bruges*, and the Left upon the *Lys*,  
within



within half a League of *Ghent*; by which he secured to himself that City, and was at Hand to throw some Troops into *Bruges*, and to send such a Reinforcement, as should be thought necessary for *Dunkirk*. Brigadier *Sutton*, who went to *Bruges*, sent the Duke an Account, how well disposed he found the chief Magistrates of that Town, to do any Thing his Grace should desire, and that they would make no Difficulty of allowing a free Passage to any of our Troops through the Town, or receiving what Garrison he should think proper to send them.

On the 26th, his Grace received by an Express from my Lord *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, a Letter of the 11th of *July*. My Lord tells him, ‘ That he is particularly directed by the Queen to begin his Dispatch, ‘ by acquainting his Grace, that no Service ‘ could be more agreeable to her, than that ‘ which he has done her, and his Country, in ‘ this nice Conjunction of Affairs. That she ‘ thanks him for it, and that she will never ‘ forget the exact Obedience which he had ‘ paid to her Orders, nor the admirable Patience and Temper, which he had shewn in ‘ so uneasy a Situation. That the Answer, ‘ his Grace had sent to Prince *Eugene* ‘ on the 17th, was exactly as the Queen ‘ would have wish’d it, and her Majesty ‘ thought nothing could set the unjustifiable ‘ Proceedings of the Allies in a stronger Light. ‘ That it had been Matter of the utmost Con-  
cern

cern to the Queen, to observe the *Imperialists* and the *States* resolved upon such Extremities. She had long courted them to come into more reasonable Measures; and there was no Room to doubt, but they might, by reviving the Conferences at *Utrecht*, and consenting to a Cessation, whilst *Dunkirk* was in our Hands, obtain for the whole Confederacy ample Satisfaction in all their Pretensions. But since their Fate hung upon them, and they would venture all to force the Queen, rather than secure all by complying with her, let the Consequences be what they will, the Blame could never be lain upon her. Her Majesty would support what she had undertaken, and he prays God they do not find Reason to repent their rash Counsels and inflexible Obstinacy. That the Queen had considered what his Grace had proposed concerning the Retreat, which he should make with the small Body of Troops, now remaining under his Command; and she thought it for many Reasons most adviseable, that his Grace should march to *Dunkirk*, unless some Objection unforeseen in *England* might arise. There his Grace might continue for some Time; and, as soon as they had Notice of his bending that Way, Measures would be taken for supporting him there, and for supplying whatever the Troops might have Occasion for. The present Garrison in the Town, Citadel, and Fort of *Dunkirk*, was certainly too weak; and, be-

sides,

‘ fides, they should have Occasion to with-  
‘ draw the *Marines*, who made near a Third  
‘ Part of the Number of Men who went with  
‘ Mr. *Hill*. It was likewise necessary the  
‘ Queen should have at that Place an Artillery  
‘ of her own, with Stores, Gunners, &c. These  
‘ Ends would be all much better, much soon-  
‘ er, and much cheaper answered by his  
‘ Grace’s removing to *Dunkirk*, than any o-  
‘ ther Way ; and therefore he would please  
‘ to lose no Time in putting this in Execu-  
‘ tion, unless, as we said above, some Ob-  
‘ jection appeared to his Grace, which they  
‘ were not apprized of. A Detachment of  
‘ the Queen’s Forces being still in *Ghent*, to-  
‘ gether with a Quantity of Stores, her Ma-  
‘ jesty would have his Grace withdraw both  
‘ the one and the other from thence ; and he  
‘ would please to secure in the first Place  
‘ that Point. Her Majesty did not perceive  
‘ any great Difficulty at present in it : Time  
‘ might, perhaps, produce some, and in our  
‘ Circumstances as little as possible should be  
‘ left to Hazard. His Grace, at the same  
‘ Time he resolved to march to *Dunkirk*, was  
‘ to communicate his Design to Monsieur *Vil-*  
‘ *lars*, to concert with him whatever might  
‘ be necessary, either for the Ease of the  
‘ Country, or in other Respects ; and to pro-  
‘ mise him, in her Majesty’s Name, full Satis-  
‘ faction for whatever the Queen’s Forces  
‘ should take of the Subjects of *France*. In his  
‘ [the Secretary’s] Dispatch to Monsieur *Torcy*,  
‘ this

‘ this Particular would be mentioned. His  
 ‘ Grace need be under no Sort of Concern a-  
 ‘ bout the foolish Lye which the *Dutch*  
 ‘ broached, and which the Emissaries Abroad,  
 ‘ and their Allies, thus affected to disperse.  
 ‘ The Queen commanded him to say, she  
 ‘ never depended upon any Accounts of his  
 ‘ Grace’s Conduct, but his own; and that  
 ‘ she desired he would be persuaded, this  
 ‘ Story gain’d no Belief with her. That Care  
 ‘ would be taken to answer all such Pay, as  
 ‘ he should have been pleased to order; and  
 ‘ her Majesty would have his Grace take No-  
 ‘ tice to *Wales*, how well satisfied she was  
 ‘ with his Behaviour, and assure him, in all  
 ‘ Events, of her Protection.’

This Morning an Account came from *Brus-  
 sels* of the entire Defeat of that Body of Troops,  
 commanded by the Lord *Albemarle* at *Den-  
 nain*.

These Circumstances and the discretionary  
 Power, which the Queen was pleased to en-  
 trust the Duke with, made him defer the  
 Proceeding any further, in the Execution of  
 her Majesty’s last Orders, till he should know,  
 whether they thought fit to take any new Re-  
 solutions thereupon; and he was of Opinion,  
 there were possibly some Points which might  
 deserve to be consider’d. That, if we had en-  
 tirely evacuated *Ghent*, there were then two  
*Dutch* Battailions there, which, ’tis natural to  
 believe, would have immediately possessed  
 themselves both of the Town and Citadel;  
 and



and the Duke doubted, whether this was agreeable to her Majesty's Intentions. If the Queen resolv'd to keep a Footing in this Country, his Opinion was, that, when a competent Number of Battalions was sent to *Dunkirk*, four might be put into *Bruges*, and the rest into *Ghent*, in both which Places, there would be some Artillery, and the Horse might be posted behind the Canal of *Bruges*.

The next Day a Trumpet came from Monsieur *Villars*; the Marechal in his Letter tells the Duke, ' That the Enemy had been made ' sensible, that the Departure of the brave ' *English* was not at all happy for them, ' since the Queen's Troops no sooner left the ' Allies, than the Misfortune happen'd to ' them, which his Grace would read in the ' Enclosed, containing a particular Account ' of the Defeat of the Lord *Albemarle's* ' Troops, and of his being taken Prisoner at ' *Denain*.'

The Lord *Albemarle* himself wrote to the Duke on this Occasion, *July* the 29th, desiring his Grace's good Offices, that, by the Means of them, he might be excus'd from being carried into *France*, and might either be exchanged for one of the *French* Generals in *England*, or permitted to go with his Family to *Vorst*, or *Aix la Chapeile*.

The Duke wrote the next Day to Monsieur *Villars*, and recommended the Lord *Albemarle* to him, and again in his Letter of the 4th; wherein also he thanks him, for the Orders

ders he had sent to the *French* Intendants, to facilitate the March of our Troops to *Dunkirk*.

Count *d'Urfel* had been at *Ghent*, to wait upon the Duke from the Council of State, and, by Virtue of his Commission, solicited the Sparing of the Country, as much as might be. The Duke tho' he was persuaded, that it would be as agreeable to the Queen's Inclinations, as to his own, to make the Burden as light as possible, to a People, who, had, of late, suffered so much; yet thought it a Piece of Justice due to her Majesty's Troops, when the Country proposed to deliver the Forage, to insist on the same Quantity, proportionable to the Number of Troops, as was furnished in the late King's Time, when Prince *Vaudemont* commanded, especially since this Charge would soon diminish, by his sending six Battalions to *Dunkirk*, and four or five to *Bruges*.

The next Day a Messenger arrived from the Lord *Bolingbroke*; in this Letter of *July* the 18th, his Lordship informed the Duke, ' That, ' by her Majesty's Command, he had expressed to him, as well as he could, in his ' Letter of the 11th, her entire Approbation ' of his Grace's ' Conduct, in every thing he ' had done : He was now directed to acquaint ' him, that she was equally satisfied with the ' Measures he had since taken, and to repeat her ' Thanks to him, in Terms suitable to the Service ' he had performed ; but they would be such, ' as he confessed, he was at a Loss to find. He ' was particularly commanded to say, that, ' tho'

‘ tho’ the Orders, which he transmitted to  
‘ his Grace in his last, did appear to her Ma-  
‘ jesty, at that Time, to be the most proper  
‘ that could be given him; the Methods, he  
‘ had pursued, were so rightly judged, and  
‘ so well adapted to the present Conjunction of  
‘ Affairs, that they had answered, in every Point,  
‘ what she would have wish’d. He was fur-  
‘ ther to say, that she was unwilling to restrain  
‘ his Grace, by particular and positive Instruc-  
‘ tions, who made Use of the discretionary  
‘ Power given him, so much to her Honour,  
‘ and the Good of her Service. The News of  
‘ *Dunkirk’s* being in our Hands could not  
‘ have been followed by any more agreeable,  
‘ than that of his Grace’s having directed his  
‘ March towards *Ghent*: As, by the Possession  
‘ of the former Place, we should treat with  
‘ the *French*, under great Advantage, so by  
‘ the Steps, which he had taken for securing  
‘ the latter, the *Dutch* and *Imperialists* would  
‘ be brought to a more decent Way of Beha-  
‘ viour to the Queen, than they had hitherto  
‘ been in. Her Majesty recommended to his  
‘ Grace, in general, the Securing to himself  
‘ the Possession of *Ghent*, as long as might be  
‘ thought necessary; as also the re-inforcing  
‘ the Garrison of *Dunkirk*, and the furnishing  
‘ that Place with what Stores he might have  
‘ to spare, and which the Garrison might be  
‘ in Want of. The Secretary likewise ac-  
‘ quainted his Grace, of a Letter the Marquis  
‘ of *Torcy* had dispatch’d to him, upon re-  
‘ ceiving

‘ceiving the News of the Earl of *Albemarle’s*  
‘Defeat at *Denain* : In which the *French*  
‘Minister took Notice of the Advantage,  
‘which her Majesty had at this Time over  
‘the *Dutch* ; and insinuated, that she might  
‘give the Law to those People, provided she  
‘made the right Use of *Ghent* and *Bruges*,  
‘which his Grace was in Possession of.’ The  
Secretary’s Answer to that Part of the Mar-  
quis’s Letter, by her Majesty’s Command, was  
no more this : ‘ That the Queen would take  
‘all the Measures, that were consistent with  
‘Justice and with Honour, to overcome the  
‘Obstinacy of her Allies, and to oblige them  
‘to consent to a general Peace ; and that al-  
‘ready he had written to his Grace to be upon  
‘his Guard, and to secure the Possession of the  
‘Posts, he was now Master of. His Grace  
‘would easily perceive the Drift of Monsieur  
‘*Torcy’s* Proposition, and the Meaning of his  
‘Answer. It was the Interest of the *French*,  
‘and there were, perhaps, some of her Ma-  
‘jesty’s Subjects so unhappy as to think it theirs  
‘too, that the Queen should join her Forces  
‘with those of *France*, and in that Manner  
‘give the Law to the Confederates ; but her  
‘Majesty’s Conduct would continue, to the  
‘last, what it had been from the first, equal-  
‘ly just, and equally firm, to all Parties,  
‘towards Friends as well as Enemies. She  
‘could not think of co-operating with the  
‘Latter, to distress the Former, how great  
‘soever the Provocation she had received from  
‘these



‘ these might have been ; and she was  
 ‘ willing to hope, that, at last, they would  
 ‘ see their Error, and concur with her Maje-  
 ‘ sty, from whom they could never separate,  
 ‘ but to their own Disadvantage.’

The Duke returned an Answer to the Secretary on the 4th, and assured him, ‘ That  
 ‘ nothing could be more acceptable to him,  
 ‘ than the Account his Lordship gave him  
 ‘ of the Queen’s Approbation of his past Con-  
 ‘ duct ; future Obedience was the best Return  
 ‘ he could make, which should be constantly  
 ‘ paid to her Majesty’s Commands, with all  
 ‘ Exactness in his Power. He acquainted his  
 ‘ Lordship of the six Battalions, he had or-  
 ‘ dered for Mr. *Hill*, with the Artillery most  
 ‘ proper for his Use, and Stores proportiona-  
 ‘ ble, which were to begin their March the  
 ‘ next Morning ; and that this Day he had  
 ‘ sent Brigadier *Sutton*, with four Battalions to  
 ‘ *Bruges*; which last Affair he had not concerted  
 ‘ with the Council of State, not thinking such  
 ‘ a Step consistent with the Queen’s Honour,  
 ‘ considering the Usage we had of late met  
 ‘ with in this Country. These ten Battalions  
 ‘ being thus disposed of, the Duke did not  
 ‘ conceive it would be for her Majesty’s Ser-  
 ‘ vice, that he should keep the Field any lon-  
 ‘ ger, with the small Corps that would re-  
 ‘ main ; so that he intended to go, with the  
 ‘ Rest of the Foot, into *Ghent*, and to post  
 ‘ the Horse on the other Side of the Canal.  
 ‘ He returned his Thanks to his Lordship, for

‘ what he had communicated to him of Monsieur *Torcy*’s Letter; Monsieur *Villars*, he said, had writ to him much in the same Strain: His Lordship’s Answer was agreeable to the Justice and Honour, which had hitherto been the Rules, by which the Queen had proceeded, and, when rightly understood, might possibly prove a more powerful Argument, than any which had been used, to induce the Confederates to concur with her Majesty, in the Measures she was taking for their Good.’

The next Day, the Duke received another Letter from his Lordship of *July* the 22d, to tell him, ‘ That the Situation he was now in answered in every Respect her Majesty’s Views. The keeping his Hold of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, at the same Time that it secures the Queen’s Troops from any Insult, and her Stores from Embezzlement, would have a due Effect on the Conduct of her Allies; and the Communication, which he preserved with *Dunkirk*, would enable him to put that Garrison into a Condition of fearing no Disorder from within, or Attempt from without. His Grace might therefore be assured, that the Queen had no Thought of his pursuing Orders, which were given on a Supposition, that he might have no Party left to take, but that of retiring towards the Sea. His Conduct had improv’d her Views; and her Majesty thought of nothing else now, but securing *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*,  
‘ which

' which his Grace would please to do in the  
 ' best Manner, which his Strength, and the  
 ' Circumstances he was in, would allow of.  
 ' His Lordship adds, that he might depend  
 ' upon it, that the Encouragement he gave to  
 ' the *Holsteiners*, and to *Wales's* Dragoons,  
 ' should be made good to them.'

The same Day Mr. *Sutton*, with the four  
 Battalions, was received into *Bruges*, to the  
 great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, who were  
 in Hopes that the Queen's Protection would  
 preserve them from another Yoke they ap-  
 prehended, and deliver them from the Op-  
 pression they had lain under, for some Years  
 past, by their giving Winter Quarters to the  
*Danes*.

On the 17th, a Trumpet came from Mon-  
 sieur *Villars* ; the Occasion of sending him  
 was, the Marechal said, that he found, by  
 the Discourse of the principal Officers, who  
 had been taken Prisoners in the last Action,  
 ' That in *Holland* they talk'd in a very fan-  
 ' guine Manner, of a Revolution ready to hap-  
 ' pen in *England*, by a design'd *Attentat* :  
 ' That the Animosity among the Confederates  
 ' was as great against *England*, as against  
 ' *France*, and that he thought himself oblig'd  
 ' to send this Advice, however general, or  
 ' of how little Consequence soever it might be.  
 ' In a Letter afterwards, of *September* the 12th,  
 ' the Marechal repeated the same Intelligence,  
 ' adding that Mr. *Hompesch*, one of the best  
 ' reputed Generals, among the Allies, had

‘ said that, in *Holland*, they look upon this Revolution as certain.’ And the Marechal was pleased further to say, tho’ without letting the Duke into the Grounds of his Opinion, ‘ That there was no good *Frenchman* but ought to dread it.’

Tho’ the Duke thought, the Subject of these Letters did not require any great Attention, being rather a Strain of fallacious Reasoning, by which our Neighbours had lately been misled, than agreeable to the least Appearance, either of Truth or Probability; yet, to shew, he neglected nothing, which could possibly be for her Majesty’s Interest, he sent a Copy of them by a Messenger to the Secretary. The Duke enclosed an Account, in what Manner he had expostulated with Monsieur *Bulou*, upon certain Information he had, that several Deserters from the Queen’s Service were entertain’d among the Troops of that General; and he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to approve of what he had writ. As to what pass’d in the Confederate Camp, the Duke could give the Secretary no Light into it, there being then no Correspondence between his Grace and the Foreign Generals, and Prince *Eugene* having thought fit expressly to forbid the Director of the Posts sending his Grace the least Intelligence of what pass’d in his Army.

The Duke’s Conduct, in possessing himself of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, was so agreeable to her Majesty, and thought to be so important a

Ser-



Service, that he received a Compliment upon it, from the Lord Treasurer, in these Words:

My Lord,

August 5th, 1712.

‘ N O Pen, nor Tongue, is able to ex-  
 ‘ press the great Pleasure I took, in  
 ‘ your Grace’s Successes; it was a very great  
 ‘ Satisfaction to see so much done for the  
 ‘ Public; to see such an Example of steady  
 ‘ Conduct, in so great a Nobleman, and so  
 ‘ courageous a Heart, is what has made you  
 ‘ envied by some, dreaded by your Enemies,  
 ‘ and applauded by all Men of Learning and  
 ‘ Understanding. Your Grace’s March to  
 ‘ *Ghent*, &c. is a *Coup de Maitre*, it is own’d  
 ‘ to be so in *France* and *Holland*; and I must  
 ‘ own I take a double Pleasure in it, because  
 ‘ it is done by the Duke of *Ormonde* to whose  
 ‘ Person I have such an entire Friendship, and in  
 ‘ whose Success I take so particular an Interest.  
 ‘ Monsieur *Torcy* wrote a very just Compliment  
 ‘ on the Affair of *Denain*, that the Allies might  
 ‘ now see, what they had lost by her Maje-  
 ‘ sty’s withdrawing her Forces, and what  
 ‘ Value they ought to put upon a Nation, which  
 ‘ every where led Victory with it. I am, with  
 ‘ the utmost Respect and Attachment, &c.’

*Oxford.*

The 3d of *September*, the Duke received a Letter from my Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated *August* the 31st, at *Dunkirk*, to this Effect:  
 ‘ That the perpetual and inconceivable Hurry

‘ and Ceremony, which he had been in the three  
 ‘ Weeks past, must excuse him, if he had  
 ‘ not paid his Duty to his Grace, as he ought  
 ‘ to have done: That he took it for granted,  
 ‘ his Grace had received from *Whitehall* an  
 ‘ Account of the Suspension of Arms by Sea  
 ‘ and Land, which he concluded at *Fountain-  
 ‘ bleau*, and her Majesty’s Orders thereupon.  
 ‘ He had only to add, that he hop’d a Peace  
 ‘ would intervene before the Expiration of  
 ‘ four Months: That the Place, he wrote from,  
 ‘ we were perfectly Masters of; and it was  
 ‘ for many Reasons absolutely necessary,  
 ‘ that we should continue so of *Ghent* and  
 ‘ *Bruges*. He ask’d Pardon for saying so  
 ‘ much to his Grace, who could not but see,  
 ‘ better than he did, the Consequence of his  
 ‘ own Acquisition.’

On the 9th, the Duke acquainted the Lord  
*Bolingbroke* by Express, ‘ That he needed no  
 ‘ other Argument, to induce him to do all  
 ‘ that lay in his Power, towards the keeping  
 ‘ *Ghent* and *Bruges*, after knowing it was her  
 ‘ Majesty’s Pleasure, and for her Interest he  
 ‘ should do so.’ At the same Time he gave  
 his Lordship an Account, of a Conversation  
 he had, on the 7th, with Monsieur *Vegelin*,  
 who was sent by his Colleagues, the States  
 Deputies, to sound his Grace upon several  
 Points, relating to those Places. He ask’d  
 first, Whether the *English* Troops were to stay  
 at *Ghent* and *Bruges* the Winter, or how long?  
 To which the Duke answer’d, he could not  
 tell,

tell, but saw no Appearance of their being withdrawn as yet. He also ask'd, Whether the Duke would consent to the States putting some of their Troops into *Ghent*, to take Care of their Convoys, and escort them to their frontier Garrisons? In Answer to which, the Duke told him, he thought himself not obliged to suffer any Troops, but those of the Queen, to come into that Town: However, he had no Intention, by taking or keeping Possession of that Place, to obstruct their Convoys; the *Dutch* Troops might still come to the Counterescarp of the Town, and receive whatever was to be carried to the Camp, as had been practised ever since *Ghent* was in our Hands. The Deputies next Question was, Whether the Duke would let Part of the *Danish* Troops take their Winter Quarters in *Bruges*, as they they had done ever since the Reduction of that Place? To which the Duke answered, he could not admit of any Troops whatever, besides those of the Queen, either into *Ghent* or *Bruges*, till he had her Majesty's Orders for it. He then ask'd if the Duke did not think of providing Winter Forage for the Troops, and taking that Charge off the Country? The Duke told him, he would take Care the Queen's Troops should not want Forage, and that due Regard should be had to the Preservation and Good of the Country; which might in some Measure appear, by the Regulation of Forage furnish'd at present to the *English* Troops, which was considerably less in Proportion,

than it was the last War, when Prince *Vaudemont* had thirty-five thousand Men, in this Neighbourhood, and the *French* were possessed of a good Part of the Country, which now contributed: And the first Charge had been greatly lessen'd, by the Regiments sent to *Dunkirk*, and the Discharge of all the Artillery Horses, and all the Bread Waggons except thirty.

This was the Subject of the Conversation, the Duke had with Monsieur *Vegelin*, and which he thought fit to transmit to the Secretary: ' Adding, if it should give the Queen an ' Occasion of sending any new Orders, he was ' ready to execute them with the same Exactness, which he had hitherto paid to all ' her Majesty's Commands. What he had ' more to add was, to renew his Desire of ' knowing the Queen's Pleasure, upon what ' he had formerly writ to his Lordship, about ' making Provision for Winter Forage, it being now high Time to concert with the ' Undertakers: And, when her Majesty ' would be pleased to order the Troops to ' come into the Garrison, the Duke humbly ' offer'd his Opinion, that the five Regiments ' of Dragoons might be sent to *Bruges*, and ' all the Horse with the Remainder of the ' Foot put into *Ghent*.'

My Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his Letter of September the 7th, acquaints the Duke, ' That ' he had lain these things before the Queen, ' who thought the Answers his Grace gave ' to



‘ to Mr. *Vegelin*’s Questions were very proper  
 ‘ and that the Deputy might have saved him-  
 ‘ self the Trouble of undertaking a Journey, on  
 ‘ purpose to ask them. Her Majesty he said  
 ‘ made no doubt of his Grace’s keeping Pos-  
 ‘ session of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and directed him  
 ‘ upon this Occasion to repeat her Commands  
 ‘ to his Grace, that he should suffer no Troops,  
 ‘ but her own, to be admitted into either of  
 ‘ those Places, until further Order. The  
 ‘ Queen had received so much ill Usage, with  
 ‘ Respect to the Commerce of her Subjects,  
 ‘ in the *Netherlands*, and had so much Rea-  
 ‘ son to expect more of the same Kind, that  
 ‘ she was resolved to treat upon that Head,  
 ‘ with those Pawns in her Hand. He under-  
 ‘ stood the Queen’s Pleasure to be, that his  
 ‘ Grace should make the Repartition of Win-  
 ‘ ter Quarters in the Manner he proposed;  
 ‘ that the Officers should not be any longer  
 ‘ obliged to keep their Field Equipages, and  
 ‘ that the Contract for the Provision of Win-  
 ‘ ter Forage should be made, as soon as possi-  
 ‘ ble.’

In a second Letter of the same Date, he  
 acquaints the Duke, ‘ That the positive Order,  
 ‘ contain’d in the first, was not sent to pre-  
 ‘ vent the Admission of other Troops, besides  
 ‘ her Majesty’s, into *Ghent* and *Bruges*: The  
 ‘ Queen was enough satisfied, that his Grace  
 ‘ would take effectual Care to preserve those  
 ‘ cautionary Places, which could alone secure  
 ‘ to her any considerable Conditions, with  
 ‘ Re-

' Respect to the *Netherlands*, in the Terms of  
 ' Peace : But he confess'd he thought it could  
 ' be no ways unnecessary to give his Grace  
 ' a very positive and clear Order, in an Af-  
 ' fair, which might perhaps make a great deal  
 ' of Noise. The Queen likewise commanded  
 ' him, to let his Grace know, that, tho' the  
 ' Body of Troops at present with him, and  
 ' the Employment of them, should not natu-  
 ' rally require one of his Rank, yet, she judg'd  
 ' it for her Service, in the present Conjuncture  
 ' of Affairs, that he continued some time lon-  
 ' ger where he now was. When the Campaign  
 ' closed, and the Conferences open'd at *Utrecht*,  
 ' as to the Disposition of the *Spanish Nether-*  
 ' *lands*, his Name and Figure in *Ghent* would  
 ' be necessary. Her Majesty thought the  
 ' Place the Duke was in not very agreeable  
 ' to him ; but, after so many Proofs of his  
 ' Graces preferring her Service to every other  
 ' Consideration, she made no Doubt of his  
 ' remaining with Pleasure, in the same Situa-  
 ' tion, till he received Orders to come over ;  
 ' before which Time it would be proper to  
 ' think of the Person, that was to command,  
 ' during his Grace's Absence.'

A few Days after, came another Letter of  
*September* 17th, from the Secretary, signifying,  
 ' That the Queen approved very well of the  
 ' Answer, which his Grace gave to Monsieur  
 ' *Villars*, concerning the Intelligence the Ma-  
 ' reschal had sent ; and, tho' she did with  
 ' great Reason despise such impertinent Dis-  
 ' course,

‘ course, yet she thought it right, that those,  
‘ who talk’d at that Rate, should be made sensible,  
‘ that her Majesty was not ignorant  
‘ of it; and believed my Lord *Strafford* would  
‘ take an Opportunity of dropping something  
‘ of that Kind: That the Earl of *Orrery* was  
‘ preparing to go to *Brussels*, who no doubt  
‘ would find great Facility in the Matters of  
‘ Commerce (which her Majesty would commit  
‘ to his Care) from the Pledges, which  
‘ his Grace, by his prudent Conduct, had got  
‘ into his Hands.’

The Duke had been inform’d by a Person very well inclin’d to the Queen’s Service of a Design, which the *Dutch*, from the Success of their Enterprize upon *Knocque*, had been encouraged to form for surprizing *Newport* or *Furnes*, and that the fortifying *Dixmude* was made use of, as a Pretence for drawing together a Body of Troops, sufficient to put the Design in Execution. The Duke knew not, but her Majesty might think it for her Service, that the Design should not succeed, since, if the *Dutch* were not suffer’d to take Possession of those Garrisons, the Queen would not only have a greater Influence towards settling the Commerce of the *Netherlands* on a good Foot, but would be able to secure, what was of the highest Consequence, at that Time, a free Communication between her Troops which were in *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*. He therefore, *October 21st*, acquainted the Secretary with this Affair, and left it to his  
Lord-

Lordship, to judge of the Importance of it, and the Use that was to be made of it ; but, if the Queen thought it most for her Service to prevent it, he was humbly of Opinion, some Means should be found out to give Advice of it to the *Mareschal de Villars*, who might possibly think, we ow'd him that good Office, in Requital of some Informations, his Lordship knew, had been sent by the *Mareschal*, with a Design to serve her Majesty and the Nation.

The Duke, during his Stay in *Ghent*, made many Regulations in Regard to the Army : Among others that concerning the Bread was not of the least Importance. The Contract of Bread the last Year having been made at five *Stivers* five Eighths *per* Loaf, and this Year brought down to four *Stivers* three Eighths ; his Grace thought it a Piece of Justice due to the poor Soldiers, to order the Surplus of what was deducted from them, upon that Account, to be return'd to them. The weekly Deduction made from the Men is ten *Stivers* for each Man ; so that in a Month, forty *Stivers* being deducted, and the Bread amounting to but thirty *Stivers* five Eighths, there would remain due, to every Soldier, nine *Stivers* three Eighths. If the Computation be made for the *English* Forces only, which serv'd in *Flanders*, and the two and twenty Battalions reckon'd at five hundred and fifty Men each, the whole Sum to be return'd to the Men, in a Month's

Time,



Time, would be six thousand, two hundred, thirty one *Guilders*, five *Stivers*.

The Campaign being ended, and both the *French* and Confederate Armies going now into Winter Quarters, the Duke thought, that his Stay in this Country was no longer necessary for her Majesty's Service, and therefore made it his Request to the Queen, that he might have Leave to return to *England*. Accordingly soon after, *October 21*, O. S. My Lord *Bolingbroke* sent him Word, that the Queen allowed of his coming Home, as soon as he should think fit: The Armies being separated, her Majesty supposed, there could be no Danger of any Surprize, either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*: But, as it was impossible to be too cautious in Times of such Disorder, his Grace would please to recommend, in the strictest Manner, to the Officer who was left in the Command, that he should be extremely vigilant, and constantly on his Guard. My Lord adds, that her Majesty was much of the Duke's Opinion, concerning the Use to be made of the Intelligence, mention'd in his Grace's Letter of *October 21st*, and that he had received the same Account by another Hand.

Soon after the Receipt of this Letter, the Duke set forward for *England*, and landed there *November 1st*; on the 4th, waited on the Queen at *Windsor*, and met with a most gracious Reception.

I shall

I shall make but very short and few Observations, on the Situation of *Great Britain*, with Regard to the War, which may show, under what Circumstances, and hard Conditions, the *English* had, for some Time, carried it on, in Conjunction with their Allies, and, without offering my own Opinion, leave it to the Judgment of my Readers, whether the Ministers acted as Friends or Enemies to their Country. The real Annual Expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than seven Millions, whereas it is certain, that we were not in a Condition effectually to raise near six Millions in the Course of a Year : From hence it follows, that, if this Proportion had been continued, about nine Millions would have been the Charge of a second Year, and about thirteen Millions that of a Third. While in the Interim the House of *Austria* contributed but one Regiment to the War of *Spain*, little to that of *Italy*, had but few Forces, and those entirely inactive, on the *Rhine*, and sent none into the *Netherlands*, except such as those harrafs'd Provinces were oblig'd to maintain, and were thereby render'd unable to furnish Troops, or make the necessary Provisions for the Operations of the Army ; both which they might otherwise have done, and both which they did in an eminent Degree, while they were under the Government of the present King of *Spain*.

The States-General bore a considerable Burden; but as they had, from the Year 1708, sent no Supplies of any Kind, either to *Portugal* or to *Catalonia*, and had drawn themselves almost entirely out of the *Spanish War*; as they furnished, in no Proportion, their Quota for the Sea Service; as they had reduced their joint Contributions with the Queen, in all Payments, to one Third of the Whole; and as they were very backward in answering even this Share of Expence, so the Load of *Great Britain* came, upon their Account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vastly encreas'd. As to the rest of the Allies, all the Troops, which they furnish'd, were maintain'd by the Queen, and the States, except a few, and those almost employed in covering their own Frontiers.

In this Situation of Affairs, her Majesty declar'd to the *Imperialists* and to the *Dutch*, that if they would not allow *France* to have given sufficient Grounds for opening the Conferences; if they were desirous to carry on the War, and determin'd to accept of no Terms of Peace, inferior to those which had been formerly demanded and refused, she was on her Part ready to concur with them: but that in Justice to herself, and to them, she thought herself bound to let them know, that she could no longer bear so disproportionable a Burthen; that it was evident, that the common Effort must be still greater than it was, or that there would remain no Prospect of arriving

living at the Ends which they propos'd ; and that for these Reasons it would be incumbent upon them, if the War continued, to encrease their Expences, whilst the Queen reduced her's.

The Ministers of the States-General were very candid and open upon this Head. Monsieur *Buys* asserted that his Masters had done their utmost already, and could be obliged to no more ; many of the others had, on several Occasions, declared their Country unable to support the Charge they were at another *Summer*, and the Pensionary himself in a Deputation of the States, appointed to attend the Earl of *Strafford*, in *October*, 1711, declared that it was impossible to think of continuing the War another Year ; that what from the *Emperor*, and what from the Princes of the *North*, we should be in the utmost Danger, should we attempt to do it : And finally that they were Traitors to their Country, who were against a Peace.

Many Instances might be produced to shew, that there was at least as little Reason to expect from the House of *Austria*, as from the States-General, a greater Effort, than they had hitherto made. The Peace of *Hungary* was concluded, about the Month of *May*, 1711. And that constant Excuse which the Ministers of *Vienna* used to make, for all their Deficiencies, did by Consequence no longer subsist ; yet her Majesty found it impossible, at the latter End of that Year, to obtain a Reinforcement



ment of no more than 8000 Men from thence, altho' her Minister was empowered to have offer'd 40,000 *l.* for the March of them ; and altho' the present King of *Sicily*, then Duke of *Savoy*, undertook, if he might be assured of this Reinforcement, any time before the Close of the Campaign, to establish his Winter Quarters, on that Side of *France*, which would have been in that Point of Time the more decisive, because a Project was then formed, and would have been executed, could the States have been, in Time, induced to have taken even less than their own Share upon them ; her Majesty supplying their Deficiency, as well as her own Proportion, to have kept a great Body of Horse all the *Winter* on the Frontiers of the *Low-Countries*, by which Means *Picardy* and the Isle of *France* would have been ravaged, no Magazines would have been erected, and the *French* must have gone, in the Spring, a great Way back into their Country to assemble their Army.

The Imperial Ministers confess'd very freely that their Master expected the Queen should furnish all the Money ; and that the utmost he could do was to send Troops at her Expence ; in the same Breath avowing the Emperor's Intention to be, to break the Negotiation of Peace, and to continue the War till *Spain* was conquer'd, the entire Monarchy whereof he expected. But if there had remain'd any Doubt of the little Assistance, which was to be

hop'd for from the House of *Austria*, who aim'd at such great Acquisitions, this Matter would have been put entirely out of Dispute by the Proposals which Prince *Eugene* himself made in *Holland* first, and afterwards to the Queen.

The Proposals, it must be thought, were carried, at least, as high as his Imperial Majesty judged himself able to make good, since it is notorious he would have stuck at nothing which might have broke the Measures of Peace, and have encouraged the Resolution of carrying on the War; and yet, even by these Proposals, his Imperial Majesty did not pretend to act in the Field with 2000 Men more, than in the Year 1702, altho' the Expence of those Troops was not to fall upon him; and altho' he offer'd to constitute, but a fourth Part of the Charge of the Army in *Spain*; so that the remaining three Fourths, as well as the whole Transportation and Extraordinaries of the War, would still have been placed to the Queen's Account.

From what has been said it is manifest, that the Method, in which the War was proposed to be carried on, could no longer be supported; and that there was not any Glimpse of Hope left, that the Allies would be brought to make any considerable Augmentation of Force to have prosecuted the War; therefore in this Manner it must have been the Ruin of *Britain*.

Farther, as the Emperor *Joseph* died in the Beginning of the Year 1711, the very Principle upon which the Allies enter'd into the War, which was to prevent the Uniting of two powerful Monarchies, was quite alter'd, for there would have been as much Danger in procuring the Crown of *Spain* for the new Emperor, if not more, than there would have been from the Union of the two Crowns, *France* and *Spain*, in one and the same Prince; Nay some of the Princes of the Empire were under Apprehensions of the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Crowns being united on the same Head; and thought it worthy their most serious Reflection, whether it was not proper, in the Capitulation of the *Empire*, to insist on their being separated. But, to return.

On the 10th of *June*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, join'd in Commission with the 1713. Lord Chancellor and Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household, declared and notified the Royal Assent to several Acts of Parliament. *Burnet* (to copy his Politeness in docking Titles) tells us, that, in the preceding Month, the Duke was made Governor of *Dover*, and Warden of the *Cinque-ports*, and his Son-in-Law Lord *Ashburnham*, Deputy-Governor and Deputy-Warden; but I do not find this in the *Historical and Political Mercury* of the Year 1713, and I have carefully examin'd it thro' every Month. Lord *Ashburn-*

*ham* I find in *July* this Year appointed Colonel of the first Troop of Horse-guards, (under the Title of *Arran*,) in the *Irish Compendium*, the Author of which could have no Reason to falsify the Chronology; we are told that, in 1711-12, the Duke of *Ormonde* was appointed Colonel of the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, and, at the same Time also, Warden of the *Cinque-ports*, and Constable of *Dover* Castle: But, this Date not answering the good Bishop's Views of throwing Dirt, he has thought, for that Reason, proper to alter it, according to his invariable Custom.

*July* the 30th, the Duke of *Ormonde*, 1714. being inform'd that the Queen was in a desperate Condition, went to *Kensington*, and, 'tis said, sent to Doctor *Ratchiffe*, who refused to attend. However that was, his Grace was in Council, when all imaginable Precautions were taken for the quiet Accession of his Electoral Highness, according to the Act of Settlement. Her Majesty died *August* 1st, 1714, and King *George* was immediately proclaim'd.

On the 16th of *September*, the King embark'd at *Orange-polder* for *England*, and the next Day in the Evening arrived at the *Hope*, and at *Greenwich* the following Evening about Six o'Clock. The King, being come to his House, withdrew to his Bed-chamber, whither he sent for several of the Nobility, but the



the Duke of *Ormonde* had not that Honour done him ; and the Day after his Majesty sent Lord *Townshend*, his new Secretary of State, (having before his Arrival remov'd Lord *Bolongbroke*) to acquaint his Grace, that he had no longer Occasion for his Service, as Captain General, *but would be glad to see him at Court*; his Grace was also left out of the new Privy-Council, but named for that of *Ireland*.

The Party, which had lately been kept under, having now, in a Manner, engross'd the King, to whom they had, long before his Accession, made their Court, was resolv'd to lay the Ax to the Root, and to put it out of the Power of their Opposers ever, for the Future, to break in upon their Possession of the Royal Favour, consequently, of all honourable and lucrative Posts in the Government. The History of those Times, being now publish'd, makes a Detail of their Procedure unnecessary, and indeed, 'tis foreign to my Subject, except what regards his Grace the Duke of *Ormonde*, whom Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* impeach'd of High Treason. Several spoke in Behalf of his Grace, among whom was Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, who by his Exordium shew'd he well knew both the Views and Spirit of his Party, for the *Whigs* do nothing by Halves: *If*, said he, *there is Room for Mercy*, he hop'd it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous Peer, &c. The Duke, however, did not

think it adviseable to attempt weathering a Storm, which he saw levell'd all before it; but privately withdrew from his House at *Richmond* to *France*, having before resign'd, by authentic Acts, the Chancellorship of *Oxford*, and the High Stewardship of *Westminster*, to both which Dignities his Brother the Earl of *Arran* was elected. I have heard his Grace censured for quitting *England*, but let any one look into two Addressess which relate to the Peace, one in p. 445-446, and the other in the immediate subsequent Reign, and they need no more than their own Reflections to clear him from the Imputation of Weakness. In a Word, he very well knew who were his Persecutors; he was well acquainted with their Principles, and, far from being ignorant of their Views, was too prudent to trust his Head, I won't say to their Mercy (thorough *Machiavilians* are Strangers to the Term) but to their Disposol.

As soon as it was known that the 1715. Duke had withdrawn himself; *August* 5th, Articles of Impeachment were read against him in the House of Commons. The first charg'd his Grace with corresponding with *Mareschal Villars*—the second with having engaged not to attack the *French* Army, or enter on any Siege;—the third, that he had adhered to the *French* King, and endeavoured to persuade the Confederates Generals to raise the Siege of *Quesnoy*; but, failing in that, he had  
march'd

march'd off with the Queen's Troops, of which he gave the Enemy Advice. — The rest of the Articles are his whole Conduct turn'd into a Charge. What would have been the Fate of his Grace, had he trusted to his Integrity, and faced the Storm, is no hard Matter to conjecture from the Procedure of the then M——y. A Bill was brought in to summon him to surrender by the 10th of *September*, and on Default thereof to attaint him of High Treason, which passed both Houses, and receiv'd the Royal Assent. The Duke having neglected to obey this Summons, the House of Lords ordered the Earl Marshal to craze his Name out of the List of Peers; his Arms also were eraz'd, and his Atchievements, as Knight of the Garter, were taken down from St. *George's* Chapel at *Windsor*. The Commons of *Ireland* also brought in a Bill to attaint, and set ten thousand Pounds on the Head of, his Grace. Inventories were taken of all his personal Estate, and both that and his real vested in the Crown.

His Grace, stripp'd of all Support and in a Foreign Country, was under a Necessity of entering some Service, for Bread. He staid not long in *France*, where he had taken the Title and Name of Colonel *Commerford*, before he had an Invitation from the Court of *Spain*, eager to embrace so brave and knowing a Captain. I will not contradict those who assert that he commanded the Body of Troops

design'd to make a Descent upon *England*, and that he heartily went into the Interests of the Pretender; if these are so, he is not the first great Man who has invaded his Native, when he thought it also an ungrateful, Country. Our own History shews that, where there was a Competitor, the Exiled, who thought themselves injured, ever took Advantage of his Pretensions, to recover their former Rights, without scrupulously weighing the Validity of such Pretensions: Tho' 'tis not impossible but that, in what related to the Title by which the Pretender lays Claim to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms, his Grace acted from a Principle of Conscience. 'Tis well known that a Gentleman, never suspected to be a Friend to the Chevalier, in the Hearing of the late Queen *Ann*, and on a memorable Occasion, asserted that the Right was in him, if the *Jus Divinum* was brought upon the Carpet. All must acknowledge that her Majesty held the Crown by a Parliamentary Right; the People, as they have more than once done, when they had Reason to apprehend for their Liberties, broke in upon and alter'd the Succession, and, tho' they have continued the Crown in the same Blood, they made Choice of a Branch in whose Prudence and Justice they had just Reason to confide. On the one Hand, as they are not deceiv'd in that Choice, so, on the other, they resolutely and zealously defend it: But as his  
Grace



Grace was a better Soldier than, I believe, a Casuist, Who can say what fallacious Arguments were employed to convince him that the People have not this Power; which no *Englishman* can dispute without condemning his Ancestors, who would compliment no Prince at the Expence of their Liberties. However, every Action of the Duke's Life will clear him from the Acting on a Principle of Revenge; a Vice too mean to find Admittance in the Breasts of the Brave, Generous, and Disinterested. If his Grace did appear on our Coasts with an armed Force; if he zealously endeavoured to restore the House of *Stuart*, and return to, and die, in his Native Country, as a modern Author asserts, Heaven disappointed him in these Views: And whether convinced that the Hand of Providence, which has so often render'd abortive every Attempt in Favour of that Family, was against them; or tired with the Vanity and Vicissitudes of the World, I never heard that he engaged in a second Enterprize, but, retiring from the busy Scenes of Life, bent his whole Thoughts on Preparing for Eternity. His Grace had from the Court of *Spain* a Pension of 2000 Pistoles; he chose *Avignon* for his Retreat, where he lived, as if he was no longer one of this World. He was here, in 1741, solicited by the Court of *Seville* to accept a Command, but he excused himself by alledging his great Age and Infirmities. His Grace was here, as throughout

out the whole Course of his Life, remarkable for his Hospitality and Beneficence: His Doors were open to all; but to an *Englishman* his Heart also, without Distinction of Parties. His Charity was so extensive, that he would have himself wanted, had not his Servants concealed from his Knowledge Numbers who continually applied to him for Relief. Tho' he was unalterable in his Religion, yet he did not think the Difference of Tenets ought to make him distinguish in his Charities. He had Divine Service perform'd in his House, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, twice very *Sunday*, and on every *Wednesday* and *Friday* Morning throughout the Year, at which all his Protestant Servants were obliged to be present. The Sacrament was administer'd to the Family once a Quarter, and, for a Week before he receiv'd, the late Duke wou'd see no-body, his Chaplain excepted, who was his constant Attendant, for that Space of Time. He never prepared for Bed, or went abroad in a Morning, till he had withdrawn for an Hour to his Closet; and tho' he had publick Assemblies twice a Week, to divert such melancholy Thoughts as must naturally have occurr'd to him, when he reflected on his then Situation and the Ingratitude of Men, who had risen, even from Obscurity, by his Countenance and Bounty: But, notwithstanding his Complaisance for the Company, at these Meetings,

ings, made him assume a chearful Countenance, and endeavour to enliven the Conversation, yet was it not difficult to discover that this was an Outside only, owing to his good Nature and Politeness, as he was sometimes absent; and from the Opinion of a good Judge of Men, who had the Honour to be conversant with the late Duke of *Ormonde* sometime before his Death, I may venture to say his Thoughts, even at these Times, were more upon Heaven than on Earth. In *October* 1745, he complain'd of a Want of Appetite; every thing at his Table was distasteful to him, and the only thing he seem'd to relish was Mutton-broth, after the *English* Manner. He at length grew too weak to walk. The Physician who attended him, seeing him in this declining Way, propos'd sending for two others from *Montpelier*, which was accordingly done; they arriv'd on a *Sunday* the 14th of *November*, N. S. and, after a Consultation of these three, they concluded on taking some Blood from him, and on the *Tuesday* following about Seven o'Clock in the Evening, the late Duke left this World, 'tis hoped, for a better. On the 18th, his Body was embalm'd by four Surgeons and the three Physicians, and in the following *May*, as a Bale of Goods, brought thro' *France* to *England*, lodged in the *Jerusalem* Chamber, and soon after decently enterr'd in the Vault of his  
An-

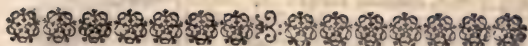
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Ancestors, in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, the Bishop of *Rochester*, attended by a full Choir, performing the Ceremony. He died in the eighty-first Year of his Age, after having suffered an Exile of upwards of thirty Years.

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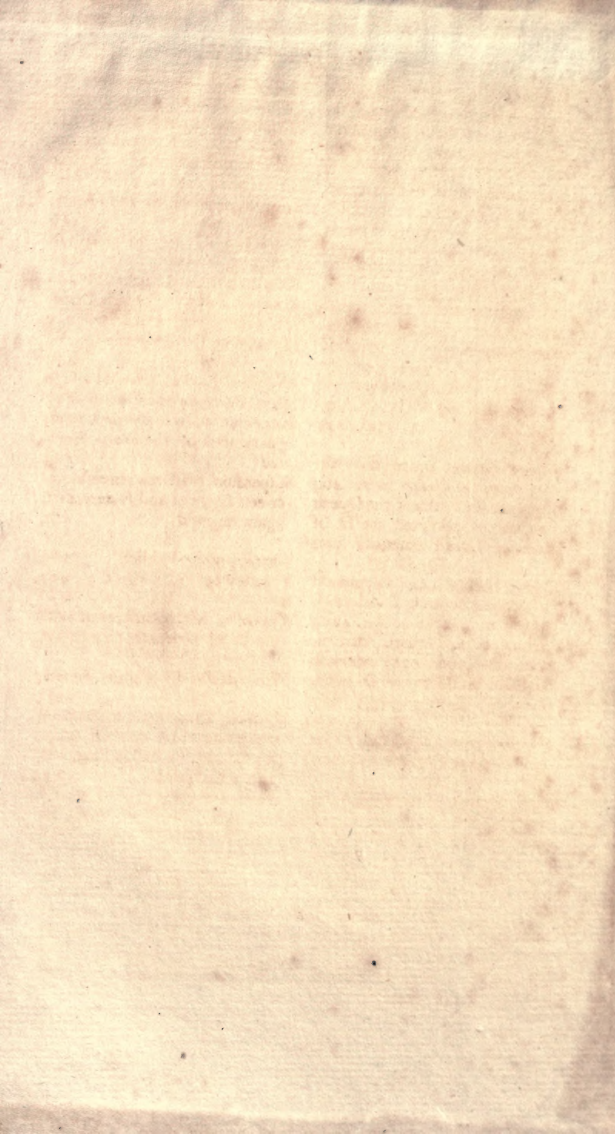
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